FBIS
DAILY REPORT
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ADDITIONAL MATERIALS FROM BERLIN CEMA SESSION

Strougal Speech Published

AU201855 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, CSSR prime minister and head of the CSSR delegation, addressed the 37th CEMA session in Berlin on 18 October. In his speech he said:

There is no doubt that on the agenda of our current deliberations two important circumstances are markedly present. The first one is the state of the preparations for economic consultations at the highest level among the CEMA countries, consultations which have entered their final stage, and this is already being partly projected into the proposals submitted for further perfecting and deepening the integration processes in our community.

The second circumstance lies in the exceptionally complex international political situation, when the most reactionary circles of imperialism -- in the interests of the forever lost rule of capitalism -- are again beginning to play a game involving life. This time, however, it involves the very existence of civilization.

The culprit of the current crisis of trust in the international community is well known. It is, above all, Washington, which ignores the interests of other states and nations, and which asserts in politics quite unacceptable principles, which have downright confrontative consequences. We witness feverish arms buildup and the building of springboards for aggression thousands of kilometers from the U.S. borders. We witness propaganda, whose vocabulary competes with the long since discarded postulates of cold war. Everything comes in handy again: slander and even lies, provocations and threats, discrimination and embargoes, and in the end even a military threat and attacks with use of force. Doubts are cast upon well-tried agreements and conclusions of international conferences, but mainly upon the practice of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, a practice which is absolutely irreplaceable in international relations. Modern crusaders are organizing themselves in the name of anticommunism, who want with weapons to foist their order upon the world. They are therefore pressing for the deployment of additional intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe and are trying to upset the existing equilibrium and aggravate the state of the immediate threat to the socialist countries.

All this is in spite of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and our community, in spite of the voices of common sense which are being heard with increasing intensity from many Western countries, and as a mockery of the aspirations of normal people who regard peace as the most important right of man and mankind. Therefore we welcome and unconditionally support the latest Soviet proposals submitted by Comrade Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

From its inception, the socialist community has been permeated with the ideas of peaceful coexistence founded on the principles of equality, noninterference, and mutual advantage. We have never closed ourselves to Western Europe or the United States. We did not invent the policy of discrimination and embargo. The policy of threats and slander is not our weapon. After all, we proved it also not so long ago in Madrid during the preparation and the approval of the concluding document, and we are willing to continue displaying such understanding. But if, in spite of our warnings, the deployment of the American intermediate-range missiles goes ahead, I can declare on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government that, along with the Soviet Union and our other allies, we will adopt all necessary measures to ensure equal security.

Closing Our Ranks Even Tighter

In this sense, the times require that we close our ranks even tighter, that we coordinate our policy more effectively, that we oppose discrimination in the sphere of international relations, that we not permit pressure on the forums of international organizations, and that we support our friends in the developing countries, who are demanding just international economic relations. In this spirit, Czechoslovakia also fully supports the anti-imperialist demands of the Nonaligned Movement. Within our possibilities and together with the other CEMA countries, we want to continue with suitable forms to help these countries.

It is quite obvious that the latest development of the international political situation continues to worsen also the conditions for our economic relations with the nonsocialist countries, which were already exceptionally complex and difficult.

What I have particularly in mind is the trade discrimination which restricts our export activites, and the discrimination as regards the availability of credits and the various embargoes on the export of high technology to the socialist countries.

We believe that this development will not be of a short-term nature. It is becoming a new, urgent reason for deepening our integration effort, and in particular for strengthening the qualitative aspects of mutual cooperation with the objective to better jointly cope with the new conditions. Along with this, it is obviously necessary to accelerate the process of transforming our national economies into the path of intensive development even though this is not exactly an easy matter at present. This depends on the growth of their performance, which is inseparably linked with expanding possibilities for further progress in socialist economic integration.

It is pleasing that the efforts exerted by all fraternal parties and governments of the CEMA states in this direction, and the deepening of their mutual cooperation, have already yielded a number of postive results, which have resulted in an accelerated pace of the entire community's economic development.

Also the Czechoslovak national economy is becoming more dynamic and the desired change in the intensification of economic development and better utilization of material inputs is taking place. In a number of spheres, including our external economic relations, we are succeeding in strengthening the economic equilibrium. At the same time we do not hide that we must overcome a number of problems and difficulties.

As a task of primary importance, the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government regard reinforcing and developing all positive trends in the development of the national economy in order to meet as well as possible the goals of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Therefore the preparation of the 1984 plan and the orientation assessments of the development in 1985 are focused on achieving in both these years an increment of at least 3 percent annually in the national income. Along with that we are counting on agricultural production in the remaining years fulfilling the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan in such a way as to make any extraordinary fooder imports unnecessary.

Striving To Increase Export Potential

Regarding external economic relations, in accordance with the concept of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we will continue to restore their equilibrium, strive to increase the export potential of our economy and deepen its participation in socialist economic integration.

We are fully aware of the demanding nature of these tasks, especially in view of the current international political and international economic situation.

At the same time, we are becoming aware that the overall implementation of the intentions of the CPCZ economic policy for the 1984-85 period will depend not only on the increased effort of our working people and on improved management of the national economy but, to a no small extent, also on the fulfillment of the agreed upon contracts and agreements within the CEMA framework.

The experience of recent years has clearly showed that in the current conditions the economies of our individual states react very sensitively to shortcomings in the development of mutual trade, which has become one of the decisive elements of economic stability. Any difficulties and complications in this sphere could have a chain reaction. Therefore we will continue to exert all necessary efforts to properly fulfill the adopted obligations on all levels of management.

By meeting the goals of the Seventh 5-Year Plan we want to create good prerequisites for further steps to transform the Czechoslovak economy into one of intensive development after 1985. We have expressed the principles of our approach in this respect in our proposals for the preparation of the economic consultation of the CEMA states at the highest level. The concrete work, now underway proceeds from demands arising from the accelerating scientific-technical progress, from the necessity to adapt the production structure to the needs of an advanced socialist society, from the market changes in the main price relations on the world market and from our participation in a smooth development of the socialist community. Therefore we regard an active participation in the implementation of the already agreed upon cooperation, which is included in the draft decision of the economic consultation on highest level, to be an important part of the preparation of the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan, and of the long-term prospects of the Czechoslovak national economy.

Permit me to take a stance on some other issues pertaining to CEMA activity.

The Czechoslovak delegation wishes, above all, to express appreciation for the proposals aimed at perfecting further the scientific-technical cooperation among the CEMA states, worked out by the committee of the Council for Scientific-Technical Cooperation. We regard as correct the idea of a more purposeful orientation of this cooperation in the sphere of applied research and a greater concentration of potential toward tasks which require multilateral international cooperation and have a realistic chance to achieve a marked economic effect.

There is no doubt that the time factor is of a decisive importance for the intensification of the reproduction process. With this also is connected the necessity to better utilize the mighty research potential of our community and perfect its qualitative content, as well as economic stimuli of cooperation in this sphere. We believe that the proposed measures change nothing concerning the necessity to strengthen basic research and create an edge in the sphere of theory, as envisaged by the proposal of the economic consultation of the CEMA states on the highest level. Also, we would like to stress the need for a further deepening of cooperation in the sphere of research of socio-scientific nature and in economic research, be it basic or applied research, which in the light of the problems and tasks of social development -- including the planned management of the national economy and integration processes -- is acquiring every increasing importance.

Attention to Cooperation in the Electronics Sector

At the recent CEMA sessions we fully agreed as regards the importance of expanding cooperation in the sphere of electronics.

This cooperation is regulated by a number of multilateral and bilateral agreements and contracts. Their fulfillment however is not always satisfactory, and corresponds neither to the needs nor possibilities of our states.

It is our opinion that the Executive Committee should return to these questions at the beginning of 1985, assess the compliance with the concluded agreements, and take additional measures to accomplish the set task -- the utilization of microelectronics in the national economies of the CEMA member-states.

In the past period, CEMA agencies have scrutinized in detail also the progress of work on the realization of the long-term goal-oriented program of cooperation in the sector of transportation communications. There is surely no need to go into details in this matter, but one thing is obvious -- that the development of transportation, its operational and funneling capacity, continues to lag behind the development of transportation needs. The measures adopted by the Executive Committee are correct, and we must make use of the coordination of the 5-year plans for 1986-1990 on the national economic development to implement them. In addition to coordinating mutual and transit transportation, it will be necessary to pay proper attention to the coordination of the preparation and the course of the coordination of investment actions, and this also as regards effective utilization of the already completed projects and parts of our states' transportation system being created.

We do not regard as correct the postponement of the solution of issues concerning the equipment, modernization, and self-sufficiency of the technical base of the transportation sector as regards machinery and installations manufactured in the CEMA countries.

We recommend comprehensively assessing at one of the future CEMA sessions establishing a unified transportation system of the CEMA states, and formulating a unified transportation policy. An inseparable part of that must be to solve the economic aspects of international and national transportation systems. It must be economically advantageous; otherwise we will not make any progress.

My last remark concerns creating prerequisites for ensuring contractually agreed imports of electrical energy. This concerns, above all, the 750 kV transmission line from the Chmelnice nuclear power plant to the Polish People's Republic. As is known, construction of the plant is behind schedule. I do not think we can reconcile ourselves to further delays in its construction, as well as to the foot-dragging and disputes that are arising from it and in connection with its future operation. Together with the interested states we must take measures to put the transmission line into operation before the beginning of 1985 at the latest.

Cost-Effective Utilization of Energies and Materials

Cooperation in the sphere of rationalization and savings of fuel-energy and material resources is no less important than cooperation in acquiring new resources. This is not some sort of interim solution, dictated by increasing difficulties and costs of fuel-energy and raw material resources. What is involved is something more than a component of the adaptation processes, with which the economy reacts to changes in rates of exchange, which in the course of recent years gradually occurred on all international markets. A thrifty utilization of these resources is the only possible long-term orientation and method of activity, arising from the demands of intensive development of the national economy. The proposed preparation of the international program of cooperation up to the year 2000 will create, together with national programs, an integrated basis for coordinating economic policy in this sphere.

In Czechoslovakia we devote considerable attention to this problem. The concrete expression of our efforts in this sphere is two state rationalization programs, concerning savings of fuels, energy and metals. The programs include technical, organizational, and economic measures, and determine the exacting demand in 1981-85 to achieve relative savings of fuels and energy of at least 2.3 percent, and of metals at least 4. 5-5 percent annually. The experience so far is positive.

We agree with the submitted draft of the Basic Directives For Expanding and Perfecting Cooperation While Cost-Efficiently Utilizing the Fuel-Energy and Raw Material Resources. We wish that the CEMA committee for cooperation in the sphere of material-technical supply would not permit protracted processing of specific proposals and would see to a systematic assessment of the progress of cooperation in this sphere.

The realization of the proposed measures to improve the supply of the population of the CEMA states with foodstuffs will be an important contribution also for Czechoslovakia.

We assess as positive the submitted proposal for deepening and expanding cooperation in the production of agricultural and food technology in short supply, for developing new and more efficient technologies enabling us to reduce losses in individual processes of production and processing of agricultural products, including no-waste technologies, for developing better quality seeds enabling increased grain production and fodder with a high protein content, and for producing seeds in short supply. The content of the existing multilateral agreements could be expanded by a number of these measures. This should be discussed within the framework of the coordination of the 1986-1990 plans.

The proposed measures link the international program with the national programs of the majority of the CEMA states, a matter that will increase the individual states' interest in achieving the best possible results and in implementing individual actions on time. However, the main emphasis must be on the qualitative aspect, because we have to admit to ourselves that as regards the technical standard of much equipment and many technologies and their use in agriculture and food industry, we are lagging behind the current developments in the world.

We propose that the possibility be studied of deepening the existing coordination of the course of the CEMA countries when making necessary purchases of agricultural products and raw materials, including the possibility of organizing joint purchases in third countries. We are proposing this already for the third time, without success thus far. At the same time, it is evident that capitalist firms are greatly profiting from this our lack of coordination.

We agree in principle with the proposed resolution of the CEMA session. We welcome the proposal to ratify the Agreement on Cooperation Between CEMA and the Republic of Nicaragua, from which we expect in the immediate future, above all, the improvement of prerequisites for the coordination of cooperation actions in the interest of their greater effectiveness.

At the same time we would like to stress that the CSSR fully supports the endeavor of states that have chosen the path of socialist development and whose representatives are present at our session. We wish to assure the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique and socialist Ethiopia, that we will continue to help them in accordance with our possibilities and to cooperate with them.

At the end, permit me, also in the name of the CSSR delegation, to express to the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers and to Comrade Willi Stoph personally, gratitude for the excellent conditions provided for the work of the CEMA session and convey them sincere greetings and best wishes from our highest party and state leadership.

We appreciate in particular the friendly reception accorded to us in the GDR capital. Thanks for the working atmosphere, which is an important prerequisite for good results of our deliberations.

Angolan Delegate Speech

LD200933 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2053 GMT 19 Oct 83

["From the Speech of the Head of the Angolan Delegation, Lopo do Nasciemento" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Oct (ADN) -- Lopo do Nascimento reminded his listeners that almost 100 years ago representatives of various colonial and imperialist powers came together at the so-called Berlin Conference to divide up Africa and to better coordinate the strategy for occupying and plundering Africa. Today we have come together here, free and with equal rights, but not for the purpose of discussing forms of increased exploitation. Rather, we are here to discuss the necessary and possible activity to strengthen and consolidate the liberation of our peoples.

He expressed his satisfaction at participating in the 37th CEMA session. At the same time he expressed the honest gratitude and high regard of the Angolan people and also of his party and government for the multilateral support given to them by the GDR, among others.

The session is taking place at a particularly difficult time for mankind. The present U.S. Administration, he said, is whipping up tension in the world and is aggravating the economic crisis by pursuing a militaristic policy "at the edge of the abyss." The United States has ignored the positive proposals made by Yuriy Andropov and the leadership of the CPSU, abused the legitimate interests of peoples all over the world, ignored the appeals from many countries, organizations and peace-loving people, and is thus solely responsible for the unstable climate of tension and war in many regions. South Africa is one of these areas of tension. The People's Republic of Angola is one of the countries which is actually experiencing this situation and is suffering the effects of this aggressive policy. The present situation in Angola, the head of the delegation said, is characterized essentially by the beginning of what is still a slow positive change in the military and economic sphere. In spite of the escalating aggressive acts of racist South Africa, which has gone over to open and unmistakable support for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, and in spite of armed attacks, bombings, economic sabotage, and the terrorist attacks on the people, the onslaught of the opponent has been militarily checked.

As factors which contribute broadly to improving the situation in his country, Lopo do Nasciemento mentioned the better organization of the armed forces, the creation and effectiveness of executive organs on the regional and central level for coordinating and controlling all military and socioeconomic actions, and a precise orientation toward thwarting the enemy's tactics. This also includes the increase in international aid and solidarity -- in which the Soviet Union's rapid response must be stressed -- as well as the courage and readiness for self-sacrifice of the Cuban internationalists. All these are factors that have considerably contributed to improving the situation.

The speaker reminded his listeners of the great dependence of his country on the world market and on the great and complicated problems in the sphere of economic leadership. The fulfillment of economic tasks has been disrupted to a disturbing degree. The direct mission of the South African racists supported by U.S. imperialism is to continue the destruction of installations and infrastructures, to make the circulation of goods between the various parts of the country more difficult, and to sabotage and destroy factories and installations within the framework of a policy directed consciously against vital targets. Thus in 1982 alone, more than 40 bridges in Angola were destroyed, Lopo do Nascimento reported.

In view of the growing aggressive policy of South Africa, the People's Republic of Angola must strengthen its defense readiness and adapt economic measures to the military situation. This is a difficult task which can only be solved with the fraternal support and solidarity of the socialist community with the Soviet Union at its head, the speaker stressed.

He expressed the readiness of the People's Republic of Angola to expand the forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CEMA countries, including with their financial institutions. He reminded the CEMA meeting of the words of Nikolay Tikhonov at the last session: There must be determined action, and forms must be found to involve the developing countries with socialist orientation in the work of the CEMA.

PDRY Delegate Address

LD202122 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2111 GMT 19 Oct 83

["From the Speech by the Head of the PDRY Delegation 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Oct (ADN) -- On behalf of the Yemeni Socialist Party and its secretary general, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, as well as on behalf of the Government and the people of the PDRY, 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal conveyed the most cordial fraternal greetings. The head of the PDRY delegation expressed the wish for continued success in constructive work for the benefit of the people of the socialist countries and for the benefit of all mankind. This is the fourth year that the PDRY has taken part in the CEMA conferences as an observer, and it also took part in the work of the five permanent organs of the CEMA, 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal said. He also expressed his country's gratitude for the opportunity to take part in the work of CEMA as an observer. This participation undoubtedly gives us the opporutnity to acquaint ourselves with the important and great experiences in cooperation which have been gathered by the countries of the socialist community, within the CEMA framework, and contributes to our country's future active participation in this cooperation, the head of the PDRY delegation said.

He continued: These days our nation celebrates two important festivals -- the 20th anniversary of the revolution of 14 October and the 5th anniversary of the Yemeni Socialist Party. In these 20 years our nation has achieved great political, social, and economic successes. The country liberated itself from British colonialism and chose the correct path of development, that is, the path of socialist orientation, in the course of which a new revolutionary-democratic power has already been created and a new social structure of society has developed. Its most important classes and forces are the workers, the peasants, and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

The speaker further reported that various mass organizations and trade unions have been founded. These unite broad sectors of the population and include them directly in the country's leadership.

The head of the PDRY delegation said that socialist forms are gradually being included in the planning and development of the country's economy. Great results have been achieved in the fulfillment of the plans for social and economic development. A state and cooperative economic sector has been formed. In the field of foreign policy the country has decided on a course characterized by the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and the intrigues of Zionism. The country supports peace, democracy, and social progress and is part of the world revolutionary movement, led by the socialist community whose main force is the Soviet Union.

The speaker dealt with the friendly relations with the socialist community, which are continuously being strengthened, he said. The latest visit by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, chairman of the People's Supreme Assembly Presidium and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers, to the Soviet Union and his talks with Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, he described as an important event and a striking example of the continuous strengthening and development of friendship relations between the PDRY and the socialist countries.

Our country's successes are due to the foundation of a vanguard party, which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism and which has the support of the broad masses of the people, as well as to the help of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal noted. This help is an important external factor for the successful development of the country which took the path of socialism. Allow me, therefore, to express our gratitude once more to your parties and nations for the great help and support which you give us in various spheres of our country's economic development, the speaker said. 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal also expressed thanks for the opporutnity to take part in the 37th CEMA metting and to speak there. On behalf of his delegation, he wished the conference a successful conclusion.

S & T Cooperation Noted

LD220904 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2140 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] This morning the CEMA Secretariat gave a press conference at the end of the 37th CEMA meeting. That press briefing reiterated that cooperation, the socialist economic integration of the CEMA countries, is on the whole proceeding steadily according to plan on the basis of their coordinated five-year plans.

(Gerd Silex) asked Werner Liebig, CEMA deputy secretary, about some keypoints of future scientific-technological cooperation.

[Begin recording] [Liebig] I can state that the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Science and Technology discussed and approved the main directions of scientific-technological developments in the period to the year 2000. Most important are the engineering and energy complexes. A number of topics relate to the raw materials economy, cooperation with the aim of the economic management of energy supplies and materials; to agrarian-industrial complexes; and to the development of radio and the electronics industry, computer technology, transport, etc.

[Silex] When we speak of intensification and cooperation in the field of science and technology, we are thinking primarily of progressive technologies. Programs for the materials economy, producing added value, and all that bears on them, can be implemented only with progressive technologies. I am thinking of industrial robots, and the use of microelectronics. How is cooperation shaping up in this field?

[Liebig] In microelectronics we have been working for 2 years on a general agreement. We want to meet our countries' needs even better and to work out possibilities for specialized and collaborative production with the appropriate reciprocal deliveries. Today the productive forces in this field have developed to such an extent that smaller countries can no longer handle the entire complex by themselves. This also applies to the development and production of specialized technological equipment for microelectronics. today we have reciprocal deliveries of hundred of types of components. The scale of reciprocal deliveries is growing from year to year.

We have been cooperating on industrial robot technology since the mid-seventies. We have worked out a program of cooperation. We have a council of chief designers to coordinate and define the lines of development.

[Silex] Comrade Liebig, at this morning's international press conference the construction of a major new point project was mentioned, a metallurgical, mining complex in Krivoy Rog. Perhaps you could tell us something about it?

[Liebig] The agreement we have signed is unequalled throughout the world. It is a matter of treating about 30 million metric tons of ores -- about 7.6 million metric tons in terms of metal.

[Silex] Per annum?

[Liebig] Per annum. The construction of this project will take palce from 1984 to 1990. The participating countries will be supplying equipment and will help build the required infrastructure, that is, housing and other projects. The project will, of course, be owned by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will recompense the participating countries for their services with deliveries of ores and metals. All this has been settled in a contract and will confer a significant economic benefit on our countries.

Delegations Meet CC Secretaries

LD211342 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1138 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Oct (ADN) -- A meeting of delegation heads and Central Committee secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of the CEMA countries who are attending the 37th CEMA session took place in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, on 19 October. The meeting was attended by:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria -- G. Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers; O. Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; K. Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee; from the Hungarian People's Republic -- G. Lazar, member of the MSZMP Centeral Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; F. Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

From the Socialist Republic of Vietnam -- To Huu, member of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

From the GDR -- W. Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; G. Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; P. Verner, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

From the Republic of Cuba -- C.R. Rodriguez, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers; member of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat L. Soto.

From the Mongolian People's Republic -- J. Batmonh, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic Council of Ministers; D. Gombojav, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee.

From the People's Republic of Poland -- W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Z. Madej, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers; PZPR Central Committee Secretary M. Gorywoda; from the Socialist Republic of Romania -- C. Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and Romanian prime minister; J. Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; M. Dobrescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic -- L. Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers; M. Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; J. Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

From the USSR -- N.A. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee Secretary; CPSU Central Committee Secretary N.I. Ryzhkov.

The meeting dealt with questions concerning the preparation of economic discussion of the CEMA member countries at the highest level.

Schuerer Meets Angolans

LD211841 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1553 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Oct (ADN) -- Economic and scientific-technological relations between the GDR and Angola have developed positively. This was stated during a friendly talk today by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Lopo do Nascimento, member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Labor Party and minister for planning and foreign trade of the People's Republic of Angola who, as head of the observer delegation of his country, attended the 37th CEMA meeting.

Gerhard Schuerer and Lopo do Nascimento discussed steps toward further development of mutually beneficial cooperation, especially regarding stable trade and the GDR's support for Angola in the construction of important plant projects. They agreed to further intensify collaboration between planning organs of the two states.

The two sides condemned the policy of confrontation and arms buildup of the most aggressive imperialist circles. By continuing this course world peace will be undermined, the threat of nuclear inferno increased and the economic and social situation of all mankind impaired.

The objective, as demanded in the statement by the prime ministers of the CEMA countries at the 37th CEMA meeting, is for the United States and other NATO states to abandon the deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe, and on their part to work in Geneva for agreement based on the principle of equality and equal security.

Delegations Depart

LD211953 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Oct (ADN) -- More delegations attending the 37th CEMA session in Berlin were seen off on Friday:

the SRV delegation led by To Huu, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; the MPR delegation led by Jambyn Batmonh, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers; the SFRY delegation led by Borisav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia; the Lao People's Democratic Republic delegation led by Sali Vongkhamsao, secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission,

the delegation of Socialist Ethiopia led by Mersae Ejigu, candidate member of the Commission for Organizing the Party of Workers of Ethiopia Central Committee and head of the General Planning Department in the Supreme Council for the national revolutionary development campaign (rank of minister).

The delegations were seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Paul Verner, secretary of the Central Committee; Gerhard Schuerer, Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Manfred Flegel and Hans Reichelt; and Gerhard Weiss, GDR permanent representative to CEMA.

The ambassadors of the respective countries were also present.

More on Departures

LD231106 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0813 GMT 23 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 23 Oct (ADN) -- More delegations that attended the 37th CEMA session were seen off this weekend, including the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola headed by Lopo do Nascimento, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party and minister of planning and foreign trade of the People's Republic of Angola; the DRA delegation headed by Sarwar Yoresh, DRA deputy foreign minister; the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique headed by Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front and secretary of the permanent committee of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic Mozambique; and the delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua headed by Henry Ruiz, member of the National Executive Committee of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and minister of planning of the Republic of Nicaragua.

The delegations were seen off by Wolfgang Rauchfuss, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of materials management; Heinz Klopfer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee; Klaus Blessing, member of the GDR Council of Ministers, state secretary at the Ministry of Ore Mining, Metallurgy, and Potash; as well as Gerd Koenig, deputy foreign minister. The ambassadors of the respective countries were present.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH AUSTRIA FOR 1984

AU242055 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] A protocol of goods exchange for 1984 between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Austria was signed in Vienna on 24 October. For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci and for the Austrian side by Secretary of State for Trade Dr Erich Schmidt. Taking part in the signing ceremony were Idriz Bardhi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Austria, as well as members of both delegations.

FERRY LINK AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH ITALY

AU221944 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Oct 83

[Text] A protocol of the establishment of a ferry link for the transportation of trucks and postal freight between the ports of Durres and Trieste was signed today in Tirana by the governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Italy. The protocol was signed on the Albanian side by Llambi Leka, deputy minister of communications, and on the Italian side by Francesco Gentile, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Italy to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Luan Babameto, minister of communications, and others attended the ceremony.

'REPRESSIVE MEASURES' AGAINST SFRY ALBANIANS

AU211456 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 21 Oct 83

["Other Trials and Repressive Measures Against the Albanians in Yugoslavia -- 13 Kosovars Were Sentenced to Long-Term Imprisonment Within 5 Days" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 21 (ATA) -- Other trials and repressive measures against the Albanians are going on in Yugoslavia. So for instance, the TANJUG news agency reported that on October 10 and 11 this year the trial against Tahir Geci, director of the Information Department at the Regional Committee of the Communist League of Kosovo began in Pristina. He was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. It was the 35th trial since the beginning of this year against the people of Albanian nationality in Kosovo.

This trial too did not prove the accusations made to the accused of nationalism and irredentism. These accusations were based on the fact that he, who was described by TANJUG as "member and ideologist" of the organisation "the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the Albanians in Yugoslavia" has demanded that Kosovo be proclaimed republic. Another "crime" of his, referring to the above agency, is that he has taken part in working out an appeal to the Serbs and Montenegrins, in which it was explained and substantiated the demand that Kosovo should be given the status of the republic in the context of the Federation.

TANJUG reported that on October 12, the Prizren trial sentenced 5 Albanians to two years and a half imprisonment, 4 of whom youngsters of 19-22 years of age, because they have participated in the demonstrations staged in the cities of Prizen and Suharexa in the spring of 1981-1982. Another news by the same agency says that on October 14, this year, the court of Pristina District sentenced 7 members of the Albanian nationality to until 9 years imprisonment. The said agency says nothing about the identity of the accused, but sufficed to accuse them through general words as Albanian "nationalists" and "irredentisits."

The number of the Albanians sentenced from the beginning of this year until today in Yugoslavia amounted to about 140.

On the other hand, as the newspaper "RILINDJA" of Pristina reports, recently the communal court of Rahovec sentenced to imprisonment 3 members of the Albanian nationality because they had backed up the demand to grant Kosovo the status of the republic. For this reason, workers, peasants, pupils, teachers, etc., were sentenced in the communes of Klina, Pec and elsewhere.

Violence is being savagely exerted in Macedonia too. According to TANJUG, on September 21 this year in Tetovo, in the center of professional eduction, there were adopted severe measures against 14 pupils who are studying at present in this center and 49 former pupils as well as against some teachers, who were expelled from the school and the Communist League for having backed up the demand of granting Kosovo the status of the republic. Because of this, 3 organisations of the Communist League of the above eductional center were dissolved. On its part, the organisation of the Socialist League of the city of Tetovo expelled from its ranks a member of the Presidency, accused of "opportunist" stands during the process of differentiation. The process of the so-called ideopolitical differentiation in Macedonia, just as far and wide Yugoslavia, has assumed very great proportions. Besides the arrests and heavy imprisonement, the neomalthusians too are engaged. They want to apply their reactionary theories to the detriment of the Albanian population. So, the newspaper "RILINDJA" of September 28, this year, speaking of these neomalthusians writes that they, in order to "bridle" the great natality in the ranks of the Albanian families in Tetovo, have adopted a series of decisions, an item of which is linked with the strengthening of "the control in the centers or in different health centers, where the mothers and women of Albanian nationality are examined."

SOVIET PLAN TO DEPLOY MISSILES REPORTED

AU242131 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] TASS today reported an announcement of the Ministry of Defense which states that the Soviet Union has decided to deploy tactical operative nuclear missiles in the territories of the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The above-mentioned communique justifies this new escalation of war prepations as an answer to the deployment of American Pershing and cruise missiles in some Western European countries.

This new aggressive step in the frenzied nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States is supposedly taken for the security of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact allies. In connection with this communique of the Kremlin's nuclear staff, it is pointed out that the deployment of new nuclear missiles in these countries aims at preserving the nuclear balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe. Justifying themselves according to the infamous theory of the balance of power, the United States and the Soviet Union one after the other, are taking dangerous steps toward the eruption of a new world war, thus placing in danger the freedom, independence and real security of the peoples. The latest action of the Soviet social imperialists is just as aggressive and dangerous as the American decision to deploy nuclear missiles in Europe.

USSR ANNOUNCEMENT ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT REPORTED

AU241659 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Defense announces: In connection with the fact that the United States is completing preparations for deploying Pershing II ballistic missiles and long-range land-based cruise missiles in several West European NATO countries, the USSR has been forced to adopt additional measures for guaranteeing its own security, as well as the security of its allies of the Warsaw Pact. In accordance with an agreement between the Governments of the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR, preparation work for deploying missile complexes with operational tactical purpose on the territory of the GDR and the CSSR is beginning. The steps that are being undertaken are one of the outlined measures in case U.S. missiles are deployed in Europe. These measures aim at maintaining the balance of nuclear means in Europe between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Deployment Praised

AU241912 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 24 Oct 83

[By BTA observer Dimitur Shishmanov]

[Text] Sofia, Oct 24 -- The first responsive measure on the part of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in case the USA starts to deploy new nuclear "Pershing-2" and "cruise" missiles in Western Europe was announced today. This is a completely logical and entirely justified responsive measure for maintaining the balance in the military nuclear sphere between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO in Europe.

The decision of the Soviet Union and its allies has been taken after the exhaustion of all the efforts made to convince the US and NATO leaders to give up their nuclear brinkmanship which poses a threat of nuclear catastrophe over the peace in Europe and in the world, over the whole of mankind.

This decision was taken after all Soviet Union's constructive proposals made at the negotiations in Geneva for reaching an agreement on limiting and reducing the nuclear weapons on the basis of equality and equal security were rejected by the other party. It became clear, that the USA uses the Geneva negotiations only as a screen of its nuclear rearmament. This is how the absurd proposals made by the US party in Geneva which in practice are aimed at a unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and a unilateral armament of the United States and NATO can be explained.

To facilitate the negotiations with a view to reaching an agreement, the Soviet Union proposed as a first step the nuclear weapons in Europe to be freezed. This sound proposal was rejected by the other party of the negotiations. The United States staged preparations for the deployment of its new nuclear-missile weapon systems on the soil of Western Europe and fixed the term -- their deployment to begin before the end of the year.

The Soviet Union and its allies are within their rights to legal defence and it is their duty to take the necessitated responsive measures against the new US nuclear weapon systems added on the territory of Europe.

After the announcement of the first responsive measure of the Soviet Union and its allies of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, still it is not too late to bar the way of the nuclear arms race, the most dangerous one until now, if only the other party gives up its dangerous decision to deploy (?nuclear) missiles.

In such a case the Soviet Union will continue to make efforts to reach an agreement in Geneva for reducing the nuclear weapons in Europe after the end of the year.

Naturally, if the United States and NATO continue their rearmament and disrupt the balance with the aim of gaining a military domination, other necessitating measures will follow on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies. The responsibility for this fresh start in the arms race will rest again with the USA and NATO which have always been the instigators of all stages in this arms race.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO ON REAGAN PRESS CONFERENCE

AU211403 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 83 p 5

[Unattributed article: "President Reagan Again Misses the Truth"]

[Text] In his statement made last night to a group of U.S. newspaper journalists and radio broadcasting stations, President Reagan again showed he would rather deal with demagogy and anti-Soviet propaganda than striving to achieve control over the arms race.

The President considered as a great merit of his administration the fact that "it has initiated the program for reconstructing the U.S. military potential," which the President called a gigantic program for rearming the United States and which will cost more than $2 billion [as published] within the next 5 years. Reagan also made the absurd assertion that "the stronger the United States is, the more reliable peace will be."

In order to justify his stand, the President, at variance with all facts, again took up his favorite subject about the "Soviet threat." Speaking in detail about the development of this threat, which is actually determining Washington's policy regarding world problems and relations, and also that the United States is lagging in its concern for U.S. military power and that it therefore has to catch up in this area, Reagan irresponsibly neglected all the peace initiatives launched by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Nothing was mentioned about this, as if such initiatives do not exist at all, although they have found a broad response in the world and not only among the common people, but also among very serious politicians. A uniting link of all opinions is the fact that the Soviet proposals and particularly the declaration by Yuriy Andropov are based on a sober assessment of the historic realities and on the conclusion that to follow a course toward confrontation would mean to march toward the annihilation of human civilization.

Throughout Reagan's press conference there was perhaps only one point that suggested a certain gleam in his conscience about the true meaning of these realities. A good foundation for such a hypothesis is the fact that Reagan called on all participants in the West European peace movement and particularly on the young people to consider who is threatening peace in Europe. If nothing else, this fact is at least a direct confession of Washington's assessment of the scope and meaning of the movement against the nuclear realities which the U.S. Administration is preparing for the West Europeans. As far as Reagan's declaration that his administration was ready to sign any agreement that would be "just to both sides" is concerned, his sincerity was shown in the statement that the United States and NATO would not give up the idea of deploying new missiles in West Europe.

BULGARIAN EMBASSY 'REJECTS' DRUGS, ARMS ALLEGATIONS

AU242005 Rome ANSA in English 1950 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, October 24 -- The Bulgarian Embassy in Rome "forcefully rejected" today allegations appearing in the Italian edition of "Reader's Digest" that Bulgarian secret services run a major international drug and arms trade ring. The article carrying the allegations was dismissed as "a document of intellectual illiteracy" by an Embassy spokesman, who also said that the source of the revelations, one Stefan Svurdlev, "was never a Bulgarian secret services agent."

Svurdlev, who reportedly informed NATO intelligence officials about the arms and drugs ring, was identified in the article as colonel of the Committee for Bulgarian Security before his defection to the West in 1971. But, according to the Bulgarian Embassy, Svurdlev fled to the West "to avoid the penal consequences of a control of his books" when he was the administrative accountant for the police department in Pernik, a village a few kilometers away from Sofia.

The spokesman rejected the arms trafficking charge by noting the "modest position" of the Balkan state in that field, "well surpassed by NATO member-states." On the narcotics end, the spokesman pointed out that "in no country in the world are Bulgarian nationals accused of drug trading."

POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS HELD IN OTTAWA

AU222023 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 22 Oct 83

[Text] New York, Oct 22 (BTA correspondent) -- The regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Canada were held in Ottawa. The consultations, which brought about positive results, were headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs -- for the Bulgarian party to the talks, and by Mr Daniel [name indistinct], assistant deputy minister of foreign affairs -- for the Canadian party to the talks. Both parties to the talks voiced their concern over the alarming political situation in the world and reviewed a wide range of topical international questions, such as the East-West relations, the preparation measures, the work of the 38th session of the United Nations' General Assembly, the setting up of nuclear-free zones, including the Balkan nuclear-free zone and other issues of mutual interest.

Mr Lyuben Gotsev explained in detail the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member-states put forward in the Prague and Moscow declarations and also the significance and the meaning of the communique of the foreign ministers of these countries, adopted at their session last week in Sofia. The two sides to the talks discussed also the chances for further expansion and promotion of Bulgaro-Canadian relations in various spheres and for raising their level, at which the existence of a mutual wish and of the necessary favorable preconditions and possibilities was confirmed.

UN DELEGATE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

AU201355 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 83 p 7

[Text] The policy of fanning the arms race, of confrontation and diktat, which the United States and the other NATO members are applying in their striving to obtain military-strategic superiority over the socialist countries, not only contributes to an escalation of international tension, not only increases the danger of nuclear confrontation, but decisively obstructs the economic and social progress of all mankind; it presents the necessary progress of the developing countries.

This was the basic idea submitted by Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the general debates at the UN Committee on Economic and Financial Questions.

Bulgaria's stand on the alleviation of tension and intensification of mutual trust among the states is well known and was reflected in a number of exceptionally important documents of the Warsaw Pact countries issued in 1983, Lyuben Gotsev declared. He pointed out the opinion expressed by the ministers of foreign affairs from socialist countries, at the meeting held in Sofia last week, pertaining to the necessity of beginning global negotiations on the most important economic problems in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations with the purpose of intensifying cooperation among the developed and the developing countries and in order to establish mutual trust in economic relations among states, so that all peoples may benefit from this in their own development and progress.

Economic and trade relations are playing an important role in contacts among states, Lyuben Gotsev stated. Unfortunately, the United States, in particular, and certain other Western countries continue to regard these relations as an instrument for exerting political pressure and for interfering in the domestic affairs of other states. The People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely denounces such methods which represent a gross violation of the established and generally accepted rules and norms of economic relations among states.

Today, in facing a period of drastic aggravation of the international situation, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is doing everything within its power to contribute to the restoration of trust and to the normalization of international trade relations among all countries, including the developing countries in particular, Lyuben Gotsev pointed out. Bulgaria is maintaining intensive trade relations with more than 70 countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Bulgaria's trade with these countries has increased by more than 3 times during the 1976-81 period. The Bulgarian delegate further described the forms and means through which our country is rendering selfless assistance and support to the developing countries in various spheres of life.

The settlement of all international problems must now be sought upon the basis of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems -- this is the Bulgarian Government's approach Lyuben Gotsev declared in closing. The only method of solving these problems is the path of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation, he stressed.

ITALIAN PRESS AGAIN REFUTES AGCA 'SLANDERS'

AU212010 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 21 Oct 83

["Refuting the Slanders of Agca Again" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Rome, Oct 21 (BTA correspondent) -- There is not a single authoritative newspaper in Italy not to draw the attention of its readers to the latest lie of the Turkish terrorist Mehmet Ali Agca in the investigation into the Sergey Antonov case. A headline in PAESE SERA can be cited as the most concrete generalization of the conclusions drawn also in UNITA, CORRIERE DE LA SERA, STAMPA, MESSAGGERO, REPUBBLICA and TEMPO. It says "a new eyewitness disproves Agca's accusations against Antonov."

The new eyewitness is Mat Sabib, an employee of the Turkish airlines at the Roman airport "Fiumicino," where Antonov, too, was working. The main question he was asked, writes UNITA, by Investigating Magistrate Martella in the presence of representatives of the Bulgarian investigation authorities, was: "Does Antonov speak Turkish or English." The answer of the witness Sabib was firm: "Antonov speaks neither Turkish, nor English, only Italian."

The newspaper draws its readers' attention to another meaningful detail related to the future of the investigation. "Let us return for just a moment," writes UNITA, to the last chapter of the story. The evidence of the Turkish employee Sabib was demanded by Judge Martella and by the Bulgarian investigating authorities after Ali Agca had again changed his version for his alleged contacts with the Bulgarian Antonov before the assassination attempt. During the long interrogations, the Turkish terrorist has said that when he had talked with Antonov, there has always been a translator. On the day when Agca was asked to react on San Pietro the dramatic moments before the attempted assassination, Agca has said that he has had long walks and talks with him only, which means without any translator."

The PAESE SERA newspaper also paid attention to this fact: "The evidence of Mat Sabib is another sensational refutation of the accusations of Ali Agca directed at Sergey Antonov. Moreover, that earlier the Turkish assassin has maintained that he had always communicated with Antonov through a translator. The day before, at the San Pietro Square, he stated that the final talk with the Bulgarian was carried out without any witnesses and in English. It will be too mild a statement to say that this latter contradiction is in high contrast with the previous allegations of the Turkish terrorist."

The STAMPA noted that three days ago Agca still maintained that all contacts with Antonov were carried out with the help of an English-speaking translator. "Many witnesses who testified at the request of Antonov's lawyers verified that they have never heard Antonov speak English," stated STAMPA.

The other newspapers also resported on the evidence of Sabib. Without elaborating at length, they either pointed or hinted that his evidence refutes the allegations of Agca.

Bulgarian Press Conference

AU221630 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Oct 83

[Text] A press conference organized for Italian and foreign journalists has been held at the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome. Bulgarian investigators Yordan Ormankov and Stefan Petrov have worked with Italian Investigating Magistrate Ilario Martella for 20 days in order to establish the truth about the attack on Pope John Paul II. Khristo Petrov, BTA correspondent in Italy, reports the following from Rome.

It is known that as a result of the testimony by Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turkish terrorist who has been unmasked many times for his lies and slanders, charges were proferred against three Bulgarian citizens, one of whom, Sergey Antonov, has been in an Italian prison for more than 11 months.

Addressing those present, Bulgarian investigator Ormankov expressed gratitude for the attention and interest shown in this important and serious investigation. He emphasized that there are no agreements between Bulgaria and Italy pertaining to the mutual rendering of legal assistance; however, based on reciprocity and goodwill, representatives of the Italian magistracy visited Bulgaria in June 1983 and undertook investigations there. While returning this visit, the two Bulgarian investigators did work in Rome of a particular scope and importance.

Expressing satisfaction with the great hospitality accorded to them, investigator Ormankov positively assessed the work they did, as well as the emergence of further information of interest to both sides. I think that if there is any goodwill, and regardless of the fact that there are no state-level documents, we will succeed in moving the investigation forward. I hope that the final results of the investigation will be made known in the near future. I am not in a position to tell you anything specific about the issues and circumstances discussed, because in Italy, as in Bulgaria, these issues are subject to secrecy, the Bulgarian investigator emphasized.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT ON CPC 'RECTIFICATION'

AU190807 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Oct 83 p 2

[Maria Netsova article: "Question Marks Proceding a Campaign"]

[Text] According to a tradition going back to Mao's time, the work of important party and state forums in China has always been kept secret, thus fostering numerous and most contradictory guesses, conjectures, and commentaries, even after the curtain has been lifted. This tradition, however, was later on overcome on several occasions, including the present second plenum of the CPC Central Committee. The agenda of this plenum has been known for a long time and can be reduced to one single item -- namely, the official inauguration of a campaign for the rectification of style. The campaign is scheduled to last throughout the forthcoming 3 years and is aimed at setting straight the irresolute party ranks by directing them towards the trends determined by Deng Xiaoping, the regime's "strong man."

The signal was given at the 12th CPC Congress in September 1982. Hu Yaobang, the CPC Central Committee general secretary, gave an alarming, if somewhat mitigated description of the CPC's present state. According to him, the disastrous impact of the stormy, internal cataclysms that have lasted for 10 years have not yet been fully overcome, and under the present circumstances, the undermining influence exerted by the ideology of the exploiters' classes has even increased to a certain extent. This is why the task was set to "rectify the party's style of work" and it was decided to "consolidate the CPC leading organs" through an exchange of membership cards, as a result of which "those who no longer respond to the requirements of party membership will be expelled, or requested to resign..."

As early as 1979 the writer Liu Binyan [spelling as published] pointed out as follows: "The Communist Party has assumed leadership over everything. The only thing it is not interested in is the party itself." This statement contains a large portion of truth, since -- as a result of the Maoist adventures and as a result of numerous sharp turns in domestic and foreign policy and because of fierce factional struggles -- the party was considerably weakened. The CPC had endured small and large campaigns, purges, and rectifications of style, it had also suffered the deep injuries of the "Cultural Revolution" and it had been deeply affected by factionalism, anarchy, excessive individualism, and other such unhealthy trends. This was pointed out at the fourth plenum of the CPC Central Committee held in 1981. It all sounds logical if we take into consideration the fact that half of the 40 million-strong members' masses of the CPC was composed of people who had joined the party ranks in that period of confusion, precisely a period when the chief criteria of party membership were loyalty to Mao and to his policy, a period when political activities to a great extent consisted of participating in program-like actions directed against party, trade union, and other organizations.

Thus the new campaign is aimed at enhancing the prestige of the CPC and at consolidating discipline within the party ranks to increase effectiveness and the party's participation in the present, pragmatic policy of the Beijing leadership. Who is the target of this campaign?

The weekly periodical BEIJING REVIEW, published on the eve of the CPC Central Committee plenum specifies that the following persons should be expelled and severely persecuted during the campaign for the party's consolidation: those who have pursued their careers in following the "gang of four," those who are persistently engaging in factional activities, those who have participated in street fights and robberies during the "Cultural Revolution," those who are opposing the line of the third CPC Central Committee plenum (the plenum held in December 1978 at which Deng Xiaoping's foreign and domestic policy was adopted), and those who have committed serious economic and other crimes.

We are impressed as well by another statement contained in the BEIJING REVIEW commentary that implies that for "the overwhelming majority of party members the campaign will mean a detailed study of Marxism, just as at the time of the Yanan movement, so as to rectify the style of work, as was the case in the forties...."

Even this passing reference to the "zhengfeng" [rectification] in the forties is not easily compatible with Hu Yaobang's statement made from the rostrum of the CPC Congress that those who disagree will be politely requested to resign from the party ranks. The struggle for the rectification of style, which started under Mao's personal leadership in 1942, marked one of the most disgraceful periods in the history of the CPC. According to the testimony of Soviet correspondent P. Vladimirov on that period, the party's indoctrination with Maoism was carried out at the price of outrageous compulsory moral and ideological methods. The comparison with the Yanan movement hardly means that the excesses of the past will be applied again. The BEIJING REVIEW adds as follows in this respect: "Rumors that the party's consolidation will be expressed in a great purge are unfounded."

Nevertheless, the analogy is not accidental. During the "zhengfeng" period Mao's ideas asserted themselves as the ideological basis of the CPC, while the following Seventh CPC Congress merely assessed the new phenomena -- the Maoist party and the Chinaization of Marxism.

On the eve of the aforementioned plenum the "Selected Works" of Deng Xiaoping were published in China in vast circulation. The basic essence of these works, as it was briefly mentioned in the official press, is reduced to the construction of socialism according to the Chinese model. Deng's ideas, expressed in his works, were described by RENMIN RIBAO as a basis for rectifications within the party from which the ultra-left-wing elements should be eradicated, while all party members, and the leading cadres, from the provincial level on up, were most emphatically recommended to study these works.

Additional remark: The second CPC Central Committee plenum actually has inaugurated a campaign for the rectification of style that began at the top and is gradually expanding within the broad party strata. As early as the 12th CPC Congress, along with the elimination of Hua Guofeng, the central party leadership was also eliminated (which, however, did not sensitively affect the Politburo and its Standing Committee). A total of 60 percent of the members and candidate members of the new Central Committee were elected for the first time, while two-thirds of the new members are under the age of 60.

Immediately following the congress the campaign proceeded further at the provincial level. In the meantime the central leadership attacked the last bulwarks where nostalgia of the past was still existing, as the daily LE MONDE stated in this connection. During the "spring purge," over one-third of the first secretaries of the 29 existing provincial and autonomous regional committees were exchanged, while more than half of the leading cadres in the party committees were eliminated. One of the basic requirements for a newly elected party functionary was that preference should be given to younger and better educated cadres, capable of following Deng Xiaoping's pragmatic policy.

This is how the ground was prepared for the last stage of the rectification campaign on the nationwide scale during which all those party cadres who are undesirable or disagree with the present policy of the 40-million strong CPC, will be eliminated. What will be the extent of the reform? This is a logical question. "It will neither be too extensive, nor too severe," the official Chinese authorities are reassuring us.

SPD MEMBER, FRG MINISTER PAY OFFICIAL VISITS

Wischnewski Arrives 16 Oct

AU161929 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, Oct 16 (BTA) -- Mr Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, member of the Presidium of the German Social Democratic Party, arrived to Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. At the Sofia airport the guest was welcomed by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Received by Zhivkov

AU222028 Sofia BTA in English 1947 GMT 22 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, Oct 22 (BTA) -- Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, met here visiting Mr Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, member of the Presidium of the German Social-Democratic Party and vice president of the Commission for Foreign Policy of the West German Bundestag. Mr Wischnewski is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In the talk deep concern was expressed over the deterioration of the international situation a result of the intensified arms race in Europe, which abruptly increases the menace of a destructive thermonuclear catastrophe. It was noted that at present the most important and the most topical task facing all governments, peoples, all democratic and peaceloving forces in the world is the struggle for peace, for disarmament and for defusing the threat of a new nuclear war.

Mr Todor Zhivkov made his guest familiar with the positions maintained by Bulgaria on the problems of disarmament and most of all on the problems which are the subject of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva. He spoke also about the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria, and their efforts at implementing the wide-ranging and constructive programme of peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty as set forth in the Prague declaration and in other joint documents they have jointly approved. Special attention was paid to the declaration of the secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr Yuriy Andropov, of September 28, 1983.

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed the opinion that the threat looming over peace in the world is being further increased in connection with the plans for the deployment in Western Europe, including the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, of the new American nuclear medium-range missiles. He said that the Western European governments which are accepting the deployment of the new American medium-range missiles to be installed on their territories are to bear a hard and enormous responsibility before the peoples of their countries, before the whole of humanity.

Mr Hans-Juergen Wishchnewski set forth the positions of the German Social-Democratic Party as the main opposition party in the Federal Republic on the problems of peace, security and disarmament. He voiced the indignation of his party over the unsatisfactory state of the negotiations in Geneva and said that if necessary the time for the negotiations should be extended, so that an agreement be reached between the Soviet Union and the United States, an agreement which will make the deployment in Europe of the American nuclear medium-range missiles unnecessary with respective cuts and liquidation of the existing nuclear medium-range weaponry.

In the exchange of views on the Middle East the two parties to the talks expressed their common concern over the persisting tensions in this region and spoke in favour of a soon, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

While discussing the situation in Central America and the Caribbean Basin, the two parties to the talks voiced their anxiety over the growing tensions in that part of the world and spoke for the right of the people of the region to determine the path of their development by themselves under the conditions of peace and with no foreign interference. In that connection they backed the efforts of the countries of the "Contadora group", whose proposals open up real chances for the achievement of peace and for the establishment of goodneighbourly relations in the region.

Mr Todor Zhivkov made his guest familiar with the basic aspects in the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the successes of the Bulgarian people in the construction of the advanced socialist society, and also with the peaceful foreign policy of our country.

Mr Hans-Juergen Wischnewski gave a high assessemnt to Bulgaria's achievements in the economic, the social and the cultural sphere of life.

It was noted with satisfaction that bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany are developing positively in all spheres of life.

A common wish was expressed and also willingness for further active development of relations and ties between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the German Social-Democratic Party.

The meeting, which proceeded in friendly atmosphere of sincerity, was attended also by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Dimitur Stanishev.

Departs 23 Oct

AU231615 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Oct 83

[Text] On 23 October Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, member of the SPD Presidium and deputy chairman of the FRG Bundestag Foreign Policy Commission, departed from Bulgaria. He visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee. During his visit the guest was received by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman. He had talks with Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary; Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council; and Petur Mezhdurechki, chairman of the Sophia City People's Council Executive Committee. The FRG political figure visited various agrarian plants and tourist objects in Varna and Plovdiv, as well as historical and cultural sites. At Sofia airport he was seen off by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary.

Zhivkov Receives Lambsdorff

AU211430 Sofia BTA in English 1348 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, October 21 (BTA) -- Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgarian minister of foreign trade, and Dr Otto Graf Lambsdorff, minister of economy of the Federal Republic of Germany, signed a joint declaration today on the talks they had on October 20 and 21, 1983.

The two ministers, who are co-chairmen of the joint Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany, discussed the state and prospects of bilateral trade and economic relations. They came to the conclusion that the results achieved in this sphere are positive.

Special attention was paid to the expansion of trade, the deepening of industrial and technological cooperation, the encouragement of business contacts between the enterprises and organizations of the two countries and cooperation in third counties. In the course of the talks the basic guidelines for industrial and technical cooperation in the 1984-1988 period were coordinated in implementation of the agreement signed by the Governments of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany on promotion of the economic, industrial and technical coooperation on May 14, 1975.

The two ministers shared the views that possibilities exist for a further expansion of the existing contractual basis for furthering bilateral economic cooperation. Information was exchanged on the results of cooperation in the sphere of transport, tourism and finances. It was decided to continue on the level of working groups the discussions of certain questions pertaining to the encouragement and defence of investments and to customs duties.

Minister Lambsdorff was received today by the president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov. They discussed some important issues of bilateral cooperation and the international situation.

In the course of his two-day stay Dr Otto Graf Lambsdorff was also received by the Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr Petur Mladenov, as well as by the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, Mr Andrey Lukanov. He had also talks with the chairman of the Bulgarian industrial and economic association, Mr Ognyan Doynov.

The Federal Republic of Germany is Bulgaria's most significant foreign economic partner of the advanced Western countries. In 1982 the trade between the two countries exceeded 700 million dollars. The industrial joint production is constantly increasing, as well as the exchange of technologies, know-how, scientific and technical information.

Talks With Khristov End

AU211028 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] The talks between Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and Otto Lambsdorff, FRG minister of economics, ended in Sofia today. The two ministers discussed in detail the state and prospects for developing the bilateral trade and economic relations. Particular importance was attached to the future development of trade relations through expanding bilateral trade, deepening industrial and technical cooperation, intensifying business contacts between the enterprises of the two countries and through jointly cooperating in third countries. Information on the results of cooperation in transportation, tourism and in the financial credits system was also exchanged.

HUSAK-HONECKER TALKS, ANNOUNCEMENTS ON MISSILES

Honecker Met at Airport

LD241156 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Prague today for a friendly, working visit at the invitation of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic. At the Ruzyne Airport, decorated with the national flags of both countries, Comrade Erich Honecker was welcomed by Comrade Gustav Husak as well as by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and other representatives.

More on Arrival, Talks

LD241615 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1433 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Prague, 24 Oct (ADN) -- A meeting took place on Monday in the Czechoslovak capital between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR.

Erich Honecker was fraternally welcomed by his host this morning on his arrival on a special aircraft at Prague-Ruzyne Airport. Also present for the welcoming ceremony were Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Michal Stefanak, deputy department chief of the CPCZ Central Committee; Frantisek Salda, head of the Office of the President of the CSSR; and Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR ambassador extraordinary and pletipotentiary to the GDR. Erich Honecker was accompanied by Secretary of State Frank-Joachim Herrmann, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and head of the Chancery of the State Council chairman; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State; and Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR.

The party and state leaders of the two socialist neighboring countries made their way from the airport to Prague Castle and started their talks.

The talks centered on mutual information on current issues in socialist construction in the two countries, issues connected with the further deepening of cooperation between the fraternal parties and states, as well as problems related to the present international situation. The meeting was marked by the traditional atmosphere of fraternal friendship and produced complete agreement in all issues under discussion.

Peace Efforts Discussed

LD241444 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] A friendly, working meeting between Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, who is in Prague on a friendly, working visit, took place in Prague Castle today.

The highest representatives of both countries informed each other about the fulfillment of the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th SED Congress in building an advanced socialist society. They appreciated the fact that friendly relations and all-round cooperation are developing successfully between both parties and countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism to the benefit of the people of both countries and are serving the strengthening of the unity of the whole socialist community. They stressed both sides' interest in further intensifying cooperation between both parties and countries in the firm bond between Czechoslovakia and the GDR on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community on the other.

Gustav Husak and Erich Honecker also exchanged views on topical issues of current world developments and the international communist and workers' movement. They particularly stressed the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community in the struggle for the preservation of world peace and averting the threat of a nuclear war. In doing so they gave their full support to the peace efforts and initiatives of the Soviet Union, expressed in the statement made by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on 28 September this year.

The meeting between Gustav Husak and Erich Honecker was marked by full identity of views on the issues discussed and transpired in an atmosphere of traditional friendship and understanding.

'Countermeasures' Stressed

LD241531 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1500 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] The GDR and the CSSR, in alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, will undertake great efforts to secure world peace and avert the danger of a nuclear war. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, today condemned during their meeting in Prague the United States' destructive stance in Geneva. They stressed that in the event that the new U.S. medium-range missiles are stationed in Western Europe, the GDR and the CSSR will take all measures necessary in the interests of their security and the defense of the socialist community. Referring to the comprehensive peace proposals of the socialist countries, they described arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security as one of the most urgent tasks at present.

Husak Receives Award

LD241836 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, presented in Prague Castle today the Karl Marx Order to Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic. The order has been awarded to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

When handing pver the highest state award of the GDR, Comrade Erich Honecker highly praised the long years of dedicated work of Comrade Gustav Husak in building socialism in Czechoslovakia, in the international communist and workers' movement, and his merits in deepening friendly relations and cooperation between the CPCZ and SED and the people of the two fraternal countries.

Comrade Gustav Husak expressed thanks for having been awarded the high state distinction of the GDR and stressed the significance of the all-round cooperation and alliance of the two sides and states.

Present at the festive act were Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; other members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee: Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, and Jozef Lenart; candidate Presidium members of the party's Central Committee: Jan Fojtik and Josef Hamam; secretaries of the party Central Committee: Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra, and Jindrich Polednik; and Marie Kabrhelova, secretary of the party Central Committee.

Further ADN Report

LD241843 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1552 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Prague, 24 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak noted with satisfaction that the firm friendship and overall cooperation between the parties and states were developing successfully for the benefit of both peoples and were contributing to the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. The party and state leaders concluded agreements on the further development of relations, especially in the economic sphere. They stressed that in view of the aggravation of the international situation by the most reactionary imperialist circles -- particularly the United States -- the GDR and the CSSR, in alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, are making the greatest efforts to safeguard world peace and avert the danger of nuclear war.

They condemned the U.S. destructive attitude in Geneva and stressed that in the event of deployment of new U.S. medium-range weapons in Western Europe, the GDR and the CSSR would take all necessary measures in the interests of their security and the defense of the socialist community. Pointing to the comprehensive concrete proposals of the socialist countries, they described arms control and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security as one of the most urgent tasks of the present time.

Gustav Husak gave a dinner in honor of his guest.

After the conclusion of the talks with Gustav Husak, Erich Honecker left Prague for home this evening. At Prague-Ruzyne Airport, he was cordially seen off by Gustav Husak and other CSSR officials.

A communique on the meeting has been published.

Communique Issued

LD241922 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Prague, 24 Oct (ADN) -- The following communique was published on the meeting between Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak in Prague:

At the invitation of the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president f the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council visited the CSSR on 24 Oct 83.

Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak informed each other about the realization of the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress, about the tasks both countries are solving in the construction of developed socialist society. They further dealt with questions of development in cooperation between the fraternal parties and states and exchanged views on the current international situation.

They expressed their satisfaction that the relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ are developing for the benefit of the populations of both countries and contribute to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the whole of the socialist community. The praised the fact that the agreements concluded at their previous meeting in October 1982 in Berlin are successfully being realized.

The cooperation between both parties, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, finds its expression in the comprehenisve and active fruitful cooperation between party and state organs as well as social organizations, and is developing in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 3 October 1977.

It was noted with satisfaction that economic and scientific-technological cooperation is developing dynamically and that the aim of the long-term trade agreement for the period 1981-1985 to increase trade by about 20 percent in comparison with the previous 5-year period is being realized.

The percentage of deliveries on the basis of agreements on specialization and cooperation in production was altogether 37 percent. Among the most important agreements is cooperation in the fields of the olefin chemical industry, microelectroncis, agricultural and textile machinery construction, as well as the recently concluded agreement on cooperation in the production of electronic consumer goods.

It was agreed to deepen economic cooperation further, particularly in the fields of numerically controlled machine tools, video technology as well as the production of radios and tape-recorders, and through the joint economic committee, the central planning organs, the ministries and combines, to introduce measures for the realization of these tasks, which are aimed at further intensifying economic relations between the CSSR and the GDR.

Both countries will actively contribute to the deepening of the socialist economic integration in agreement with the decisions of the 37th CEMA meeting.

Both representatives considered that the development of cooperation was equally successful in the fields of culture, science, education, the health service, sports and tourism.

Direct relations are helping to bring the working people of the two neighboring states significantly closer together and contributing to their mutual knowledge of the experience of socialist progress and of cultural life. In this connection there was praise for the success of the joint days of culture held this year in the two countries and the broad response they received.

During the exchange of views on the current international situation, Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak stressed that both countries, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, are making great efforts in the struggle to safeguard world peace and avert the danger of nuclear war.

It was noted with concern that the international situation is being further aggravated through the fault of the most reactionary imperialist circles, above all of the United States. Imperialism is strengthening its policy of diktat, force and confrontation, intensifying the psychological war, and creating obstacles to the development of mutually advantageous economic and cultural cooperation between the peoples. The current U.S. Administration does not conceal the fact that that its main aim is the elimination of socialism as a social system. The United States and some of its NATO allies are stepping up their attempts to destroy the military-strategic balance and achieve superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The situation arising in Europe was assessed as particularly dangerous. The destructive attitude of the United States at the Geneva negotiations, which undermines the possibility of achieving an agreement, was condemned. It was stressed that in the event of deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the GDR and the CSSR, in the interests of their own safety and the defense of the socialist communty, would take all necessary measures. In the light of these facts the Governments of the GDR and the CSSR, together with the Government of the USSR, decided to begin preparatory work for the development of missile complexes with an operational-tactical function.

The two representatives stated that one of most urgent present tasks is that of taking immediate measures to halt the arms race and to reach an accord on the limitation and reduction of forces and arms, expecially nuclear arms, on the basis of equality and equal security. The spoke strongly in favor of activating the negotiations on the entire complex of questions of limiting and reducing the arsenal of weapons. They believe that a quantitative and qualitative nuclear weapons freeze by the states possessing these weapons would be very useful. They consider it very important for all nuclear powers to follow the USSR's example and pledge that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

These steps are in accordance with the will of the nations, which condemn nuclear war as the most shameful crime against humanity. This finds its expression in the global peace and antiwar movement.

They praised the USSR's constructive proposals which were presented both at the negotiations on the limitation of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe as well as at the negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. They pointed to the unimpaired relevance of the peace proposals of the Warsaw Pact states contained in the documents of the January meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Prague and the June meeting of the highest representatives of the socialist countries in Moscow. It is time that the NATO states answer the peace initiatives of the countries of the socialist community so that positive negotiations are made possible, particularly on the conclusion of a treaty on mutual nonuse of force and the preservation of peaceful relations between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

They praised the fact that at the Madrid meeting a weighty and balanced final document was adopted, after lengthy negotiations, that corresponds to the interests of the European nations. They accord special significance to the preparation and course of the conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. The GDR and the CSSR are resolved to make an active contribution to the success of this conference and expect the other participants in this conference to take a similar stance.

Both countries again expressed their firm solidarity with the peoples' struggle to strengthen their independence, for peace and progress, against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and for the removal of existing areas of tension and the danger of war in Asia, Africa,and Latin America.

Both representatives emphasized that the deepening of fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community forms the fundamental precondition for the preservation of peace in the world. They emphasized in this contxt the significance of joint action by the Warsaw Pact states.

The meeting between Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak took place in an atmosphere of traditional friendship and the full agreement of views. It contributed to the further deepening of the comprehensive fraternal cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ, between the GDR and the CSSR.

Honecker Departs

LD242247 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Petro Voldan and Lubos Lidicky report from Ruzyne Airport]

[Excerpts] The capital city of our republic, Prague, is seeing off Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, who was on a brief and friendly working visit to our country. A motorcade with both representatives, Comrade Gustav Husak and Erich Honecker, stopped in front of the airport building. Both officials then approached the steps attached to the special plane. Seeing Comrade Erich Honecker off at Ruzyne Airport here in Prague were Comrade Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Also present were Michael Stefanak, deputy departmental director of the CPCZ Central Committee; Frantisek Salda, chief of the Chancellery of the President; other representatives; and the ambassadors of the two countries, Pavel Sadovsky and Helmut Ziebarth.

Presidium Missile Statement

LD241635 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Statement of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the agreement between the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the USSR Council of Ministers:

It says that the struggle for peace, for the averting of war, forms the everyday content of the policy of the CPCZ, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the states of the Warsaw Pact. They also confirmed this in the Political Declaration adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee on 5 January this year in Prague, in which they pointed out the very serious danger to European nations posed by the intention of NATO to implement its decision on the deployment of new American medium-range missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries.

The Prague Political Declaration sums up an extensive program for actions aimed at averting the threat of a nuclear war, relaxing international tension, reducing armaments, and at disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. Despite these important peace appeals, the United States has shown an unwillingness to negotiate at all seriously on these issues and to reach an agreement. It has been avoiding, concealing, and distorting the proposals contained in the Political Declaration in an effort to gain time for the deployment of American medium-range missiles by the end of the current year.

The statement of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium says that the Soviet Government, in its statement of 28 May 1983, was compelled to state that if the decision of the United States and NATO concerning new American missiles in Western Europe starts to be implemented, the Soviet Union will be compelled to adopt, in agreement with other members of the Warsaw Pact, the necessary measures for the protection of the Soviet Union and its allies.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the Czechoslovak Government, in the statement of 3 June this year, stressed that, conscious of their responsibility for the calm and peaceful life of the Czechoslovak people, they have identified themselves with this statement and have voiced their full support for it. The leading party and state representatives of the socialist countries, in the joint statement adopted on 28 June this year in Moscow, appealed once again with great urgency to the governments of the NATO states, proposed a broad peace program, and called on them to negotiate an agreement. At the same time they stressed that in the interest of peace and their own security they would never allow anyone to gain military superiority over them.

The world public is conscious of the fact that it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which in the spirit of their principled Leninist peace-loving policy, filled with humanism and a desire for the happiness of mankind, have been systematically submitting initiatives and proposals to save world peace and avert nuclear catastrophe. The most reactionary imperialist forces, particularly the United States, do not respect the will of nations, and continuously step up armament in an effort to upset the balance, gain superiority, and negotiate from a position of strength.

Czechoslovakia cannot idly view the fact that not far from our western borders the United States is rapidly completing preparations for the deployment of medium-range missiles. In the light of these realities, in the interest of the security of our homeland and socialist community, the Czechoslovak Government, together with the Government of the Soviet Union, has decided to begin preparation for the deployment of operational-tactical missile complexes.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, together with the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, are convinced that the Czechoslovak people will fully support this unavoidable measure.

New Missile Complexes

LD241546 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] We shall now acquaint you with the statement of the CSSR Government on an agreement between the CSSR Government and the USSR Council of Ministers:

In view of the continuing preparations of the United States and NATO to deploy new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in some West European countries, the CSSR Government has pointed on more than one occasion to the danger which the realization of this intention would mean for our country, our allies, European security, and world peace. In this connection it has been stressed from our side that if the NATO plans are carried out, the appropriate political and military measures will be adopted based on the principle of equality and equal security.

Conscious of the fact that the United States is already completing works connected with the deployment of Pershing II ballistic missiles and the cruise missiles, the CSSR and USSR Governments considered retaliatory measures if these nuclear means are deployed.

After a mutual agreement between both governments, preparation work is beginning for the deployment of operational-tactical missile complexes on the territory of Czechoslovakia. These necessary steps have been taken with the aim of preventing the attempts of the United States and NATO to upset strategic equilibrium and stability in Europe and the world and to gain military superiority, says the statement of the CSSR Government on the agreement between the CSSR Government and the USSR Council of Ministers.

FOJTIK SPEECH AT JOURNAL ANNIVERSARY MEETING

AU181053 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 83 p 2

["Text" of speech delivered by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium alternate member and secretary, at the Prague meeting marking the 15th anniversary of the TYDENIK AKTUALIT weekly, held on 13 October in Prague]

[Excerpt] For us, Czechoslovak Communists, and for the working people of our fatherland, the experience acquired by the Soviet Union -- the country, in which the socialist revolution had been victorious for the first time in mankind's history and which had yielded the first fruit and laid the foundations of a new, communist civilization -- have always represented immense riches. Had we not had the possibility to make use of these riches, and had we not received the Soviet Union's selfless assistance, particularly in difficult moments, we could hardly have achieved the revolutionary transformations in our society and the successes in socialist construction. Likewise, Soviet experience is a living source of knowledge also at present. And it is to be wished that we draw on this experience to the full and that we learn how to really make use of it. We regarded in the past, and will regard also in the future, the creative implementation of this experience as both binding and imperative, precisely because we fully realize our responsibility toward our workers class, toward our people, toward our nations -- because we proceed from the vital and basic needs and interests of the people and from our revolutionary and progressive national legacy.

We are therefore grateful to Soviet journalism, which is communicating to us, and most responsibly, the current struggles of the Soviet people in further developing socialism -- struggles in which they are proving how consistently, and with what dignity, they implement under the leadership of their communist party the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the thoughts of Leninism, this most powerful ideological and oral force of the present. This is particularly obvious and demonstrable in the way the Soviet Union is combining its pioneering work, oriented toward building communism, with efforts to preserve peace in the world. The Soviet Union is most resolutely rejecting endeavors to unleash armament races, and it is doing everything to avert the nuclear apocalypse, with which the reactionary forces of American imperialism, represented by Ronald Reagan's government, are threatening the life on our planet.

Socialism and peace are inseparable. This is proved by the entire history of the Soviet Union from the very first days when it was born, from the day Lenin's Decree on Peace was issued. The Soviet Union was striving to achieve collective security and disarmament before World War II; it most resolutely demanded that the fascist war exponents be curbed and their armament, as well as the instigation of their militarist lust by the imperialist monopolies of the West and by many of their government figures, be prevented. The Soviet Union has the principal merit in saving human civilization from the fascist plague. It is above all from the Soviet Union's sacrifices -- which cannot be at all compared with the sacrifices of those countries which had to pay for their governments' speculations with Hitler's anti-Sovietism and anticommunism -- that the sun of freedom rose for the nations of Europe; it is from these sacrifices that the nations' passionate will was born to achieve the full liberation from all fetters of imperialism on all the other continents.

The progressive people throughout the world are looking toward the Soviet Union with hope and faith in the future. These hopes and this faith were again consolidated by the declaration that was recently made by Comrade Yuriy Andropov, top Soviet representative, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet. "We proceed," he said, "from the thesis that mankind is not doomed to perdition. It is both necessary, and possible, to put an end to feverish armament. Mankind deserves a better fate than to live in a world that is shaken by conflicts, under the burden of death-bringing arms. We are submitting far-reaching proposals for limiting and reducing the strengths of both the strategic and intermediate-range nuclear arms in Europe, and we are bearing in mind not only the security of the USSR and of the states of the socialist community, but also that of all other countries.:

Klement Gottwald used to remind us that one can always rely on the Soviet Union's word, that one can build on it as on a firm rock. In our modern history we could convince ourselves of this time and again, and we could draw our lesson from this. This was expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress, where he said: "For us the alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union is not only a revolutionary legacy, but a living present -- a certainty on which we base all our plans and all prospects of our further advance."

This certainty of ours is enhanced by the Soviet Union's resolute effort to succeed in defending peace -- this most valuable asset of mankind. We, too, see the most significant task of the present in contributing to the maximum toward activating the antiwar movement that is powerfully developing just now.

Like the Soviet journalists, our journalists also see their basic and most sacred duty in serving the cause of peace. It is inseparably tied to serving the cause of socialism and of working man, to serving his happiness and welfare.

The realization of this duty inseparably rallies us on the front of the ideological battle which we are waging in the most profound conviction that the truth of socialism will win and that socialism is historically superior to capitalism. This conviction is not merely the result of historical knowledge. It belongs to the sum-total of the historic experience acquired in man's eternal struggle for a just social order and for the victory of morality, which exclude rapacious egotism, ruthlessness, and indifference toward social oppression and the enslavement of nations. This ethics of real humanism stands in sharp contrast to cynicism and to the disparagement of the nations' interests -- all practices implemented in international relations by American imperialism, in its expansionism and its impudent claims to a dominating position in the world. This new morality, bound to the shaping of the socialist community, has a future -- because it is based on respect for work, for really free and creative work, for work which does not threaten the values of civilization and culture, but which multiplies them instead.

DEFENSE COUNCIL ANNOUNCES NEW MISSILE COMPLEXES

LD241628 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 24 Oct 83

["Announcement by GDR National Defense Council" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin 24 Oct (ADN) -- The GDR National Defense Council announces: The United States and its NATO allies are presently undertaking numerous measures in order to gain military supremacy over the states of the Warsaw Pact and to alter the present approximate military balance decisively in their own favor. This aim is served by the planned stationing of new U.S. missile systems in Western Europe, whereby the territory of the FRG is to be made into a central launching pad for U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons against the USSR, the GDR, and other states of the socialist community.

In full agreement with the other members of the Warsaw Pact, the GDR referred on several occasions to the dangerous consequences of stationing new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe and has stated that in this event the socialist countries will be compelled to take countermeasures. The Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other members of the Warsaw Pact have submitted numerous proposals and continue to uphold them. They serve the aim of making progress on the path of detente, arms limitation, and disarmament.

In connection with the fact that the United States is concluding its preparations for stationing land-based ballistic Pershing II missiles and long-range cruise missiles in a series of West European NATO states, the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states are compelled to adopt additional measures to guarantee their security.

In accordance with an agreement between the USSR and GDR Governments, preparatory work is being started on GDR territory for the deployment of operational-tactical missile complexes. The steps undertaken are of the nature of one of the planned response measures in the event that the U.S. missiles are stationed in Europe. They are aimed at maintaining the balance of nuclear weapons between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe.

CHRISTIAN CIRCLES ISSUE DECLARATION ON MISSILES

AU171921 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 14 October on page 4 carries a 450-word ND report on a meeting of "150 members of churches and religious communities who met for a peace demonstration of the working group of Christian circles at the National Council of the GDR National Front" in Berlin on 13 October. The report states that the meeting was attended among others by Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, and by Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council.

According to the report, Klaus-Dieter Ernst of the Foreign Ministry referred in his address to the need to achieve agreements at the Geneva negotiations that are acceptable to all sides. The report then refers to the "16 speakers who made discussion statements, including Helmut Aris, president of the Association of Jewish Congregations in the GDR; nuclear physicist Klaus Fuchs, SED Central Committee member and member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; Horst Konopatzky, member of the Society of Friends (Quakers); and Felix Schoenfeld, preacher from Karl-Marx-Stadt and bezirk leader of the Community of Seventh Day Adventists of the GDR."

Together with that report, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes a declaration of the meeting in which the participants express their intention to oppose the plans of deploying first-strike weapons in Western Europe and support the proposals of the socialist states and other states such as "the nuclear arms moratorium, the declaration on the renunciation of the first-use of mass destruction means, the creation of nuclear-free zones, and disarmament in accordance with theprinciple of equal security." In the declaration, the unity with the world's peace movement is stressed, and Erich Honecker's letter to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl is supported. The declaration then appeals to the Geneva negotiations to prepare the way of peace and stresses that instead of pursuing intensive armament, negotiations should be continued.

VERNER MEETS WITH PROTUGUESE PRESIDENT'S ADVISER

LD211806 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin 21 Oct (ADN) -- The GDR and Portugal have expressed their concern about the sharpening of the international situation. Paul Verner, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Lieutenant Colonel D.R. Vitor Alves, adviser to the president of the Portuguese Republic, at the official seat of the Council of State on Friday, also emphasized in a talk that everything had to be done to avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe from mankind.

The need to stop the arms race and reduce armaments, especially in the nuclear area, was called the most important task. It was necessary to exert a calming effect on the international situation and to intensify the political dialogue.

Paul Verner underlined that the GDR together with its allies was doing everything for the preservation of peace. It was prepared to cooperate with all states and all political forces who work for peace and detente.

Vitor Alves conveyed warmest greetings from the president of the Portuguese Republic, General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. Paul Verner, on behalf of the chairman of the Council of State, cordially reciprocated the greetings to the Portuguese president.

The talk was attended by Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR Council of State, and Kurt Nier, deputy foreign minister.

ACCORD WITH POLAND SIGNED; MEHES RETURNS

LD242322 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Exports of Hungarian buses and components to Poland and of Polish trucks and mining machinery to Hungary are to be speeded up in the next few years. Agreement on this subject was reached at talks held in Warsaw between Lajos Mehes, minister of industry, and Edward Lukosz, minister of metallurgy and engineering. As a result of their talks a government agreement was signed on cooperation in bus production. Poland called for the development of relations in the vehicle industry about 2 years ago. On the basis of talks between experts, agreement was reached on the delivery of bus chassis, amounting to about R200 million, from the Csepel Car Factory to the Jelcz factory by 1990. In return, Polish industry is to deliver to Hungary construction industry and mining machinery, vehicles and components. Having concluded his talks in Poland, Lajos Mehes, minister of industry, has arrived home from Warsaw.

FURTHER ON NATIONAL ASSEMBLY INDUSTRY ADDRESS

LD211401 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] [Announcer] Now follows a report on the first day of the autumn session of the National Assembly. National Assembly President Antal Apro opened the session and then the deputies approved the agenda. According to the agenda, the minister of industry would report on the situation and tasks of industry, the chairman of the People's Control Committee would report on the work of the people's controllers and there would be an interpellation as well. Industry Minister Lajos Mehes gave his report today.

[Unidentified reporter] There are 1.3 million people, a quarter of all active earners, employed in the industrial enterprises, cooperatives and research institutes under the Ministry of Industry. This is where 40 percent of the national income is produced, said the minister of industry. The activities of the approximately 1,100 enterprises and cooperatives are fundamentally influenced by world economic events whose influence reached our country at the end of the 1970's. In the crisis-stricken capitalist markets it is more difficult to sell our products, and in some areas vital to us prices have dropped by 30-40 percent.

Besides the shocks in the sphere of foreign trade, local management circumstances have also altered. The proportion of the national income devoted to economic consumption and accumulation had to be reduced in order to enable us to devote more resources to improving the foreign trade balance. For that reason, less was available for investment on the one hand, and on the other hand demand for industrial products in the home market also decreased. Despite all these trying experiences Hungarian industrial production has increased year after year, with the exception of 1980, though at a lesser rate than hitherto. Furthermore, the foreign trade figures show that despite the strong competition in the world market, the competitiveness of Hungarian industrial products has improved. Our exports to the capitalist markets have increased since 1980 by 9 to 10 percent and to the socialist markets by 10 to 15 percent, without a drop in profitability. The minister went on to say the following:

[Begin Mehes recording] It has to be said, however, that we could sell even more if all our enterprises would progress more in contact with international technological trends, if even more of our products were competitive, and if the quality of our products were beyond reproach. Unfortunately, this is not yet the case. [end recording]

[Reporter] Hungarian industry has very considerable tasks also in meeting home demand. The quality and choice of the goods available at home have improved in recent years; however, there is still a seller's market for a large proportion of the goods. Certain products are in short supply, and there are some which are sometimes unavailable. One of the reasons for this is that there is no sharp competition for most products in the Hungarian markets. This is harmful to industry. But it is not possible to simulate competition.

The qualitative changes occuring in industry are shwon by the structural changes that have occurred in the utilization of energy sources, in metallurgy and in the changing product structure of the processing industry. However, the total picture is not yet favorable. The average life of the products is high; in engineering it exceeds 10 years and in light industry 11 years. But, in Hungary we still use 20-25 percent more materials and 30 percent more energy to produce a unit of extra value than countries with whom we are competing in the foreign markets. There is a lot of defective goods, products weigh too much and the standards are out of date.

One of the fundamental preconditions for the necessary structural changes is technological development. So far 30 billion forints have been devoted to this during the current plan period. However, this sum can only partially satisfy the desire for investment. The minister said the following about the tasks:

[Begin Mehes recording] The limited possibilities force us to develop only efficient areas. Non-profitable activities must be abolished unless they can be made economical relatively quickly with little investment and with good management. On occasion this involves the reorganization or closing-down of enterprises because we cannot idly watch activities that do not increase but decrease national income. [end recording]

[Reporter] Hungarian industry attained the results of the past few years in a way in which even though the search for import-substituting materials and parts occasioned a lot of worries, it used 7 percent less import materials last year and 5 percent less this year. The value of the improts needed for industry, by the way, exceeds the value of industrial exports, but while in 1981 this difference was $860 million in favor of imports, this year it will be only from $100 to $130 million.

Lajos Mehes next discussed the situation of the industrial labor force. He said that there has been a drop of 230,000 from the 1.5 million workers employed in industry in 1970. Fewer and fewer people are producing a larger volume of goods. Thus, productivity has improved, though not sufficiently for us to approximate the productivity of our competitors. This decrease in the labor force is a cause of serious problems in some places. The fact that in many places there is a shortage and at other places there is excess labor should motivate the enterprises to effect changes. However, while the shortage is a cause of immediate production problems, the excess numbers go unnoticed behind the gates of the enterprises for a long time. The minister then spoke about the average earnings of those working in industry, which have almost doubled in the last 10 years. At the end of 1982 they exceeded 4,700 forints. This average, however, hides many disproportions.

[Begin Mehes recording] The earnings of skilled workers are, on average, one and a half times the earnings of unskilled workers and 20 percent higher than the earnings of semi-skilled workers. This difference, unfortunately, is decreasing and many trades no longer attract young people to learn vocational skills. The earnings of young professionals are very low. It takes many years for them to catch up with the skilled workers. This makes the early years of their careers very difficult for them and frequently motivates them to do other work as well, thus hindering their professional development precisely during the most import years. [end recording]

[Reporter] In the last few minutes of his speech, Lajos Mehes spoke about the connection between the enterprises and industrial management:

[Begin Mehes recording] We intend to give an increasing degree of independence to enterprises, more freedom of action for entrepreneurial management, more scope for carrying out their decisions, but also greater responsibility as regards the consequences of their actions and greater compulsion to ensure that they can thrive only with economic activities useful to society. In our present economic situation, we are compelled to have operative management differing from the above principles; however, we regard these methods as only temporary ones. There is also a need for many new types of activities in the interest of realizing the long-term tasks determined by the Central Committee. It is to achieve this that we are developing a program for the renewal of industry. Our goal is to speed up qualitiative changes in production culture, the competitiveness of products and the profitability of activities by giving a new impetus to industry as a whole. We would like to mobilize all those who can contribute to the renewal of industry and we wish to ensure, with the realization of this program as well, the conditions which are needed for the liberation of latent energies and their utilization.

POLISH WEEKLY INTERVIEWS MSZMP'S SARLOS

LD242148 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw 24 Oct -- The TU I TERAZ weekly No 43 of Oct 26, carries an interview granted by Political Bureau member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and Hungarian Vice-Premier Istvan Sarlos, mostly dealing with the cultural policy, ideological situation of artistic circles in Hungary, state's patronage over culture, etc.

In a reference to the cultural policy, Istvan Sarlos said: "In Hungary we do not apply the principle of a political and practical discernment between the cultural policy and the party's policy. Our cultural policy is based on its own methods aimed at enlivening culture and making it more attractive. For us socialism and culture are notions which belong to each other."

"We believe that truly right attitudes may find their forms of expression in the activity of every artist. Society should be open to various artistic values...culture still happens to reflect tensions and conffllcting attitudes. I think however, that the crucial thing is for the ideology which is not in line with our policy to be met with proper arguments. We do not want to avoid problems and we raise them ourselves," Istvan Sarlos added.

Talking about the influence of political emigres on the Hungarian cultural life after 1956, Istvan Sarlos said that the party had decided that everyone who wanted to cooperate with socialism was valuable for socialism.

"Scientists who either were or were not party members started to work from the very first moment. Nobody accountable was reproached for his past. After some time, artists wrote that this was something which had built their confidence in the authorities who called a spade a spade," Istvan Sarlos went on.

After the situation had stabilized at home emigres started to come closer to their home and again. [sentence as received] Ever more people sought contacts with their country. The state tried to help those who maintained contacts with their own culture. Now we take care for the second and third generation of those who were brought up outside the milieu of their mother tongue to cultivate it. We meet with strong attachment of emigre intelligensia and its respect for their native culture," the Hungarian vice-premier said.

"We do care for getting to know our emigre literature and presenting it at home. Everyone knows, however, that the most valuable works used to be born and are born here, from the soil of the Hungarian nation," he pointed out.

Asked about any analogies between the impact of the 1956 upheaval in Hungary and that of 1980 in Poland, Istvan Sarlos said that the past twenty five years were an open book for everyone. Everyone has the possibility to draw on it but has no possibility to simply copy our solutions. Our example is valuable only when it can be adopted to the specific character of one's own territory and possibilities."

USSR JUSTICE MINISTER LECTURES FOR LAWYERS

LD150650 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] The Soviet minister of justice spoke highly of the Hungarian reform of the electoral law. Nikolay Terebilov gave a lecture at the headquarters of the Hungarian Lawyers' Association. Talking of his experiences in Hungary, he paid particular attention to the ideas connected with the creation of a constitutional council, which, as he said, strengthens legality and constitutional order. This is among the fundamental requirements of the law in every socialist country.

BRIEFS

VIENNA UN AMBASSADOR -- Dr Janos Petran, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and new head of the permanent mission of the Hungarian People's Republic to the UN organs centered in Vienna and the IAEA, has paid an introductory visit to Movaffak Allaf [spelling as published], director of the Vienna UN Office, and presented his credentials to IAEA Director General Hans Blix. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Sep 83 p 4 AU]

ROMANIAN CHURCH DELEGATION -- The Romanian Presbyterian Church delegation has concluded its 10-day visit to Hungary. Laszlo Papp, bishop of Oradea, and Gyula Nagy, bishop of Cluj, and their colleagues stayed in Hungary at the invitation of Dr Tibor Bartha, bishop, president of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church Synod. The two church leaders exchanged views on their church's life and mission, on the possibilities of widening the contact between the two countries' peoples and churches. The guests viewed different institutions of the Presbyterian Church. The delegation met with Imre Miklos, state secretary, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, on Monday. Present at the talks was Dr Karoly Toth, Presbyterian bishop. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Sep 83 p 8 AU]

AID FOR CHURCH COLLEGE -- The rebuilt college of the Reformed Church in (Rada) has been inaugurated. Assistance was given for the building by the Hungarian state and some foreign Reformed Churches. Bishop Tibor Bartha, president of the Synod of the Reformed Church; Karoly Toth, reformed bishop of the Near-Danube; and Gerhard Brandt, president of the church of the Rhein Province and (Hans Schaffert), director of the Swiss Protestant aid organization, made speeches at the inauguration ceremony. Also present at the ceremony was Imre Miklos, state secretary, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Oct 83 LD]

SPEECHES, RESOLUTIONS AT 13TH PZPR PLENUM

Urbanski Speech

AU211526 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 83 p 5

[Speech by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, at the 14 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Excerpts] We all feel the need to strengthen the ideological front. This is the result of many years of negligence in this field, as well as the need to take into consideration the particular conditions in which the struggle between the two opposing ideologies of today is taking place and the intensity of the struggle in this area. It is necessary to prepare a well-thought out system for shaping our ideology and propaganda not only in order to popularize the idea of socialism, but also the active combat of imperialist propaganda.

Our external and domestic opponents are trying at all costs to reduce our achievements regarding the gradual overcoming of the crisis. One of the forms of combat they adopted was the sowing of mistrust and apathy and the use of rumors designed to induce panic. An effective response that the party can make to this is to increase activities and to be steadfast in its desire to overcome its difficulties, a desire that stems from the belief that we are following the correct road, one that was mapped out by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

At the last Central Party Control Commission plenum we agreed it was necessary to stress that combating all the degenerations in our social and economic affairs is just as important as open combat with the political opponent. When the party's actions sanction the fact that it does not tolerate evil and lawbreaking, and that it is very severe toward such offenders within its own ranks, then all this reinforces its credibility in the eyes of society.

Unfortunately, we still have not managed to break down manifestations of indifference and unjustified tolerance toward those who waste social property, do not care about law and order, or even about basic cleanliness and the appearance of the inside and outside of the work places they are in charge of. Sometimes the organizational disorder and lack of strictly-defined duties for definite stages of production process makes it difficult to determine the guilty parties and erases personal responsibility. The guilty also put the blame on others and hide behind the cover of workers' self-management bodies, collective bodies, regulations, and objective reasons. Such reasons do, of course, exist, but as we have been shown by experience, evil and wastefulness usually stem from humans, from their attitudes, their competence, and their view of work and responsibility.

Party control commissions have recently dismissed 150 people from the party, punished 550, and issued 2,200 warnings to members for bad management, disrespect for property, and neglecting professional duties. We will have to review certain issues and deal more severely with those who did not draw the correct conclusions from the warnings they were given.

With regard to world-outlook-related issues, I would like to stress that the consistent observance of the constitutional principle that divides Church and state is of great significance. This principle is not observed by part of the Catholic clergy, and we have recently had more evidence of the exploitation of religion for political ends. Such activities fan social tensions, and favor inflamed fanaticism and the lack of tolerance for nonbelievers or the representatives of religions other than Catholic.

The Ninth PZPR Congress confirmed the previously applied principle that working people who believe in the faith can be admitted to the party, and are enabled to carry out political activities in line with the party program. The party as a whole does, at the same time, support the scientific world outlook and carries out its educational and training activities in this spirit. These activities are characterized by many years of neglect which must be made up. Even today we cannot agree with the manifestations of clericalism that have been transferred to party matters.

Party control commissions will continue to steer themselves using the compass that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Party Congress supplied them with, that is, the statute and the programmatic resolution that it adopted. Anyone who violates these, or who strikes at the party's ideological, organizational, and ethical principles must suffer the consequences of such behavior.

We will not allow ourselves to be deceived by those who, in bandying slogans for reform, are in fact smuggling through political concepts that are alien to our own Marxist-Leninist ideology. We also recall that some of these people were "teachers of socialism" and went over to anticommunist centers in the West without any embarrassment whatsoever. Neither will we seek accord with those who are prepared to involve the party in more social conflicts or promote divisions within the party with their unrealistic and simplified appraisals of our reality.

Mokrzyszczak Speech

AU211210 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 83 p 5

[Speech by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, at the 13th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 15 October]

[Text] PAP -- Dear comrades: The 2½ year term of office of the executive bodies of party organizations up to and including voivodship level is coming to a close. In accordance with the PZPR statute, we ought to hold an accountability and electoral campaign in the party on the threshold of 1983/84. This dateline coincides with the halfway stage of implementing the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. An honest examination of how we have implemented that congress resolution awaits us, as well as a laying down of the tasks facing us.

The party needs this campaign. Every party organization needs it. We must assess how our goals are being implemented and review our strength. We have to sum up our achievements up to now, acquaint ourselves with the difficulties and shortcomings that still exist, assess individual attitudes, draw conclusions and lessons from this, and use these conclusions and lessons when setting a program for the next term of office.

The accountability and electoral campaign's task is to make an honest assessment of how the ninth congress program and Central Committee resolutions have been implemented so far in the party organization's everyday area of activity.

The meetings and conferences will also assess how party organizations' own programs adopted during the pre-congress campaign and during the accountability campaign have been implemented.

These assessments can neither be generalizations nor declarations. They must contain an awareness that we are assessing the results of implementing a program that reflects the aspirations not only of party members but of nonparty people and also reflects the expectations of the whole of society.

The entire party's prestige will depend on how the party organizations take stock of their activity, how they assess the attitudes of their members, and what conclusions they draw from this for further work.

Comrades, the meetings and conferences will adopt a program of action for the next term of office. These programs should aim for full implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress and contain conclusions drawn from the activity of party organizations so far. These programs must result from the expectations of society and be designed to solve problems that are important to individual socioprofessional circles.

These programs should also be clear and specific, lay down the tasks facing every organization, party group, and party member, and be adapted to the needs of every social circle and to the activity conditions of party organizations. And -- this is specially important -- they must be real programs, worked out on the basis of an objective analysis of needs and on the basis of a realistic assessment of the possibilities.

The accountability and electoral campaign should serve to improve the work of all party organizations and committees, as well as their style and methods of action.

Improving internal party life is not an aim in itself. This improvement should aim to increase the ability of every party organization and cell to effectively solve the everyday problems of its social circle. It is from this very point of view that the activity of party members should also be assessed, including the way they discharge their statutory duties and perform their individual party tasks, and their attitudes in professional and social work in the trade union and self-management movements, in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], and in social organizations.

We must restore the proper meaning of the word "vanguard" in the party. The campaign should be a stimulus for the qualitative development of the party ranks and should perpetuate in the life of the party the principle that the leadership role of a Marxist-Leninist party emerges from the leadership of every party member in his social circle. Every party member must present in a principle-minded way and firmly defend our political interests, program, and policy in every situation and inside every social circle. Party organizations and their members should lead a relentless struggle against the political adversary, disrupt his antisocialist and anti-Polish aims, and isolate him. They must also eliminate all deformities in social life -- bureaucratism, soullessness, cliques, waste, unreliability, living at someone else's expense, and speculation -- with the same relentlessness. Party organizations should display constant concern that correct interhuman relations are shaped, and see to it that identical criteria behind assessments and requirements are observed. They should do this in relation to everyone, regardless of the position he occupies.

Comrades, the Politburo has adopted guidelines concerning the sociopolitical goals of the accountability and electoral campaign. It emerges from these that the meetings and conferences should concentrate on the most urgent tasks today.

The campaign should help bring about the right conditions to overcome the socioeconomic crisis more quickly and to create greater productivity among work forces. The meetings and conferences should analyze the implementation of the reform and of the 3-year socioeconomic plan, with special attention to the austerity and anti-inflation programs. In the current situation, the only way to improve society's standard of living is to make proper use of the huge reserves that our economy still possesses. That is why it is also necessary during the campaign to lay down tasks involving the elimination of absenteeism, the proper use of working time, the increase of work productivity, the saving of materials and fuels, and the improvement of work organization. The complete performance of these tasks is the condition necessary to bring about more efficient management. Therefore, it is the task of party organizations inside factories to establish a battle front for the sake of efficient management, better productivity and higher production quality and to involve all the work forces in this task.

The accountability and electoral campaign should play an important role in strengthening the socialist political system. It is necessary during the talks and conferences to assess the development of trade unions and the functioning of self-management bodies, and to examine the activity of party members inside these bodies. In the new conditions under which enterprises are active, party organizations must work out the kind of principles of joint activity with the trade unions and the self-management bodies that will serve a proper correlation of the interests of the work forces with the interests of society in general.

The meetings and conferences will analyse the joint activity of party organizations with the state and economic administration concerning the implementation of the party's program and policy in their areas of action. During the campaign it is necessary to make an assessment of those party members who are responsible for specific sectors of socioeconomic life, and of how they perform the functions which the party has entrusted them with.

An important aim of the campaign is to increase the party's influence on young people. All party organizations will assess their work with the young people in their areas resulting from the resolutions of the ninth plenum. They will make a preliminary analysis of the activity of young party members in youth organizations. The campaign should make the young generation aware of the fact that both the present and the future of our country depend on their activity.

It is our party's permanent duty to implement the principles of social justice and equality. The ninth congress has placed us under an obligation to observe these principles constantly. This is especially important under the present conditions in which we are having difficulty with meeting the full needs of society. That is why it is also the coming campaign's important task to comprehensively analyze how the principle of justice is observed in every sector of social life and in every social circle, and on this basis to establish how to remove the glaring inequalities that cause social tension.

The essence of socialist social justice is the inseparable bond between an individual's lifestyle and the results of his work. Only justice conceived in this sense can be the basis for reform of the wages system, on which the work forces are currently being consulted.

Injustice and social evil cannot be eliminated at one go and they have a tendency to reappear. A constant battle for social justice in a definite place and time and constant concern for proper living and working conditions is the basis for the party's confidence and the basis on which the party may regain social support. That is why these problems must always be in every party organization's and every party committee's field of vision.

Of special importance is a full examination -- in accordance with the resolutions of the ninth Central Committee plenum -- of the way in which the conclusions adopted inside party organizations have been put into practice and of the way in which letters and complaints from citizens addressed to party committees have been handled. These express concrete matters and problems. Every remark, letter, and complaint involves the fate of people, citizens' concern, initiative, and society's confidence in the party. We must not lose this valuable source of confidence, and we should perpetuate and develop the progress that has been achieved in dealing with remarks, letters, and complaints.

We propose that the accountability and electoral campaign commence after the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum. The meetings and conferences should help propagate its important ideological contents, which possess a strategic significance. The tasks emerging from this campaign should be incorporated in an activity program for party organizations during the next term of office.

Comrades, the campaign will create new authorities. The election of authorities is important in the life of the party. By taking part in elections, party members exercise influence on the activity of party organizations, on the style of their work, and on the effectiveness of their activity. Every election is a chance for the party to obtain better cadres. Therefore, the act of electing someone contains a huge responsibility for party members, for elections determine the leaderships of party organizations. That is why the accountability and electoral meetings and conferences should make sure that the above leaderships contain principle-minded people, people who are ideologically dedicated, experienced in organizing party work, and sensitive to human affairs, social evil, and injustice; people who enjoy prestige among party and nonparty people in their social circles.

Party authorities should contain representatives of all communities -- workers, peasants, intelligentsia, young people, women, and soldiers and officers of the Polish People's Army, as well as employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and activists in social and professional organizations.

The newly elected authorities face difficult and important tasks concerning the development of a new style of party work and of democratic mechanisms for the functioning of the party. In implementing the resolution of the ninth congress we have achieved significant and favorable changes in the above sphere, which can be felt both in the party and among society. At the seventh plenum we launched the following slogan, which we are consistently adhering to: "A party near the affairs of working people." The party is systematically rebuilding its ties with society and is gradually regaining confidence in and support for its policy. Society is being regularly informed of the contents and purpose of the initiatives and resolutions that have been undertaken and adopted, as well as on how they are being implemented.

We are also reestablishing internal ties in the party, especially between party authorities on the one side and primary organizations and masses of members on the other. Regular meetings are held between members of the party authorities at all levels and work forces and social circles. Employees of the party apparatus are members of factory party organizations, usually organizations gathering workers. The role and activity of the problem commissions of party committees, as well as of party control commissions and auditing commissions, has grown. We attach great importance to control over the implementation of party resolutions.

Comrades, the elections will be based on the "Provisional Regulations for Electing Delegates, Authorities, and Bodies of Control in Primary, Factory, Rural, Municipal-Rural, Rural, District, and Voivodship PZPR Organizations." A draft set of regulations has been the subject of talks by the Central Committee Internal Party Commission and consultations have been held on it in all voivodships by party aktivs and by ninth congress delegates. It has been discussed during informational-consultative meetings with members of central party authorities prior to the 13th plenum. These consultations have been very useful and have brought many valuable ideas and suggestions. A considerable part of these has been used in the draft regulations that have been presented here today for approval.

The contents of this draft have earned approval. They are in accordance with the principles of the statute adopted by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. They guarantee electoral democratism. The conclusions and experience emerging from the campaign will be included in the final version of the regulations. In accordance with the ninth congress resolution, the regulations will be presented before the national conference of party delegates for approval.

Comrades, the accountability and electoral campaign will be conducted on the basis of the guidelines that lay down its basic political contents and organizational principles. On the basis of these party organizations and cells should adopt detailed timetables for the meetings and conferences.

The campaign will stimulate a general debate on the affairs of the country. It should play an important role in concentrating the efforts of society for the sake of national accord, socialist reforms, the battle with the political adversary, sociopolitical stabilization, and the emergence from the crisis. In implementing the principle of open party life, we will acquaint the whole of society with the course and results of the campaign.

The national conference of PZPR delegates, which will take place after the campaign, will sum up this campaign, as well as the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress up to now.

Comrades, I move that the Central Committee adopt a resolution on the holding of an accountability and electoral campaign in party organizations up to and including voivodship level, and that a provisional set of regulations for electing delegates, authorities, and control bodies in party organizations be adopted.

Baryla Speech

AU211245 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Oct 83 p 5

[Speech by Army General Jozef Baryla, deputy minister of defense and candidate PZPR Central Committee member, at the 15 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum; words in uppercase published in uppercase]

[Text] The importance of the current plenum lies in the fact that it gives us a political explanation and an ideological interpretation of the country's crucial problems at the same time that it is on the lookout for a good tie to relate Marxist-Leninist theoretical principles to everyday life and the present Polish situation, in other words, to the program of socialist building in our country.

The abnormal and far from stable situation in today's troubled world clearly does nothing to help the processes aimed at stabilizing our reality. These matters were tackled by the PZPR Politburo report and several speakers expressed their concern about this situation. We share this concern because it is justified. Here are a few thoughts on the matter.

Our society is living under the pressure of an external threat that is of a global dimension, as well as the internal tensions that are closely related to this external threat. World peace has been seriously threatened. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, spoke of this with great concern on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Armed Forces of Peoples Poland. The Washington administration is responsible for that threat; it wants to transform its imperialist "ranch" into a nuclear arsenal. What the present Washington administration is doing goes beyond the ideas of hostility toward socialism. It is already an obsession and an outright hatred.

What, then, are the motives and the aims of this state of affairs?

FIRST, is an attempt by the United States to conceal its own domestic conflicts, whose most glaring expression is a multimillion unemployment level and the desire to draw attention away from the brutal way in which it represses national and liberation movements and supports extremist, reactionary, and compromised regimes.

SECOND, is its unremitting aim to undermine the balance of forces in the modern world and the desire to win military supremacy over the USSR and Warsaw Pact countries.

THIRD, is its strategically planned arms race that, according to the opponent's calculations, is supposed to weaken our community's economic system and to cause ideological difficulties in the military threat becomes part of the confrontation in the sphere of the economy, as well as a form of ideological combat. [as published]

There is, at the same time, a phenomenon that has particular influence on the issue of international security, because the opponent has, in this nuclear age, transferred ideological differences to the field of international relations. What does this mean? It means that imperialism has included nuclear arms in the list of typical measures it uses in ideological combat by casting ideology into the sphere of politics, economics, and military matters. Huge psychological warfare corporations were set up at the same time and the whole business [biznes] of military production and propaganda was submitted to ideology.

But yet another exceptionally treacherous weapon has been singled out for the fight against socialism. This is the manipulation of the ideas of humanism, which involves exploiting the ethical and intellectual values of all of humanity for its imperialist goals. An example of this is the recent verdict issued by the Nobel Foundation for peace activities.

It appears that in the "free U.S.A." ["Wolnoamerykanka"] any trick is allowed even if the real idea of peace were to be trampled on, even if the principles of international honesty were to be violated and hypocrisy was elevated in the eyes of the world. Only one thing counts, and that is the brutal attack on socialism and Poland that has been calculated to create long-term destruction! This is, therefore, an ideological battle against the propaganda-based aggression of the opponent, a battle for socialist consciousness.

In our conditions, this means the distortion of social moods, the promotion of apathy, and the encouragement of national defeatism. What else is refusing to allow society to show their own response to what is happening, reducing the importance of work, order, and discipline, and attempts to isolate people from social interests and the vital fabric of the state, if it is not the work of an alien ideology?

Today ideology and politics are closely connected with economics on all levels of our economy -- in work plants on the foreman level, as well as on the skilled and unskilled worker level. It is here that the correct attitude for good productive work is born, work without which all the ideas about the improvement of our lives are only words.

Comrades, you will undoubtedly share the view that today there is no way for us to classify the opponents of socialism as stereotypes. Putting it plainly, our opponent is anyone who destroys the healthy fibre of society, and who deals it painful blows, such as economic ones, for example. Economic criminals and speculators, shirkers, or thieves also strike at the material existence of the people. Our opponents are the cocreators of pathological phenomena that induce crime, and asocial elements who prey on the work of honest people, as well as criminals, and hooligans.

There are still some aggressive bridgeheads of opposition in existence on the domestic front, because there are those who simply attack every one of our successes, as well as every failure. It is they who set up alliances with forces that are against Poland.

They have no scruples when they encourage the West to continue its sanctions on our country. Poland is hardly an addition to their sick political aspirations as they wish it...all the worst! This opponent has become an anti-Polish representative in Poland.

Yet another problem has arisen from the many indications we have received and the research we have made. It is based on the fact that these threats do not somehow register with some of our people and that many do not realize the consequences of growing tensions, thinking that NATO's missiles may somehow pass us by. I would like to stress, however, that these missiles are already aimed at vital centers within our country! Everyone should be aware of this and everyone should draw the appropriate conclusions from it. My next conclusion, on the other hand, is the following:

There are moments during the history of a nation when localized group interests must be put into line with all interests. Today, such a moment has arrived. Our responsibility in the face of the main threats, should be PARTY UNITY and FELLOWSHIP, a fellowship that has been forged with combat and action. This should give rise to the belief that the security of the state is the most important issue of the entire nation! History has taught us a bitter lesson of experience, and we must always remember this lesson.

Honorable comrades, just as in the entire party, intensive preparations for the accountability-electoral campaign are continuing in the Armed Forces. We are anticipating a new flow of energy from this campaign, as well as a growth in the wave of activities carried out by people in uniform. We will scrupulously take stock of the experiences and the achievements we made during martial law. We will undoubtedly emerge from this campaign ideologically and organizationally consolidated with more efficient devices for ideological training. The current plenum will surely favor this.

And it was precisely in view of this that I would like to draw a brief outline of THREE of the problems that have been selected here, and which are, in my opinion, the ones that are most clearly focused on the sphere of ideology.

FIRST is the issue of party members' univocal ideological attitudes. The uniform criterion for party activity is always a duty, especially during the present class struggle. What, therefore, is necessary, is courage, stubborness in combat, and a clear outlook, as a matter of principle. This results from the general principle that says one cannot just be [byc] a party member, but is [jest] a party member! This simply comes from the conscious choice of the ideological world outlook. Our attitude must be planned to be singleminded, one that is not subject, as is sometimes the case, to hasty fluctuations, or does not change in different circumstances, situations, or circles. Our whole fate should be associated with the party, and not with the anticipation of better times.

SECOND is the great problem of familiarizing ourselves with Marxism and Leninism, as well as using it creatively. This demands continual study and activities to practice what is preached.

I believe that party cells should make further moves toward giving ideological knowledge an explanation that is consistently implemented and carried out. The point is, among other things, to make it widespread within the entire party and every member, to relate it to what is being practised today, and to translate its universal nature into definite tasks. Our ideology is not only for the chosen or for professionals, and it is not meted out according to status or social functions. It is everyone's duty. It would, therefore, be useful if the following three-part interdependent maxim were made widespread within our party (and not only within) and was correctly explained: "Ideology -- the ESSENCE of the SYSTEM. The system -- the structure of the existence of today's POLAND. And socialist Poland -- our common HOME."

THIRD is the fact that the ideological front has a suitable number of arguments for its struggle with the opponent. Our party has no shortage of them and we have objective interests in our favor. The problem still hinges on the question of WHETHER we will take advantage of these arguments in the most correct and effective way.

Time has already sufficiently devalued the vague character of our ideology. Today, our combat success is decided by the strength of our arguments. But not only by these. Our flexibility and skill in talking people around, as well as the wide choice of circles that we can address is equally decisive. The success of our party in the struggle mainly depends on WHICH line of argument we will use to recruit hard and honest working people to our side.

Speaking about these issues in such a wide context, I am, of course, also thinking of that structural part of our party, the People's Armed Forces. This is because we feel we are part of the ideological front and have ideological and moral motivations that allow us to play an important role on this front for the party and the country.

Honorable comrades, hardly 3 days ago we took part in the climax of the 40th anniversary celebrations of the Armed Forces of People's Poland. As a man in uniform, I cannot fail to express my deep satisfaction at this point for the great warmth shown by the people to their soldiers.

We will remember this manifestation of social feeling for a very long time. We are also pleased by all the good words about Army people that were expressed at today's plenum. For us soldiers, those who have a record of active service and their followers, this is of special value. It is a sign of distinction and duty.

The reason that the Armed Forces could perform such difficult tasks was due to many things. It was, above all, the result of many years of methodical, ideological, and educational work supervised by Army commanders, the political apparatus, and party organizations. The main theme running through this work was the slogan proposed by the minister of national defense that "Ideological support is our weapon," and "Every officer is a learned Marxist."

It was in accordance with this slogan, and the words that it inspired, that we built a program of party-political activities while, at the same time, we shaped the practices of military life that confirmed and consolidated the ideals of socialism. We have also profited from another tested system, that of the ideological, general, and strictly military education system with its principles of ethics and its customs, as well as its program of cultural development and the instruments of personal policy.

Martial law, something which is already a part of history, presented the Armed Forces with extraordinary tasks to perform, and their implementation supplied us with valuable new experience. We made a comeback to our own appointed place in the defense system of the country, being "The same but not quite the same." The determinants of this metamorphosis can be generally characterized in the following way:

FIRST, in public service, particularly in commissioner posts and for those working in operational units, we learned the hard art of managing our own country and putting it into order, at the same time that we took lessons in politics and economics. We helped others, but we did not shy away from the lessons that were addressed to us. A soldier, especially a professional, is deeply involved in the whirlwind of public affairs, and as a result of this, his real feelings of responsibility for the fate of the state and the political system have been intensified.

SECOND, the recent past has brought us even closer to working people, especially the workers class. We were the joint participators of their troubles, their worries, and their concerns for the fate of the country during the growing threat. The soldier inspired the people's faith in the socialist renewal of the homeland, and the attitude of the workers class confirmed the correctness of the mission we had undertaken. We are sure that these ties will remain our permanent and common property.

THIRD, the conditions of the bitter confrontation between the external and the domestic enemy produced the need to improve methods of political combat and provide a more efficient reaction to current events. Human issues, such as material worries and spiritual needs, have also become a central point of interest for commanding bodies, the political apparatus, and for party organizations. As a result of this, today we can shape people's moods much better, find more success in bringing the opponent's slanderous propaganda apparatus to light, and have a newer, richer workshop for political activities.

The time of change and the time of struggle will put us to the next difficult test. We will tackle these tasks because we have the energy of ideologically orientated and dedicated people at our disposal.

Conscious of our service to the nation we will scrupulously implement the program for the reform of the republic and recruit people's hearts and minds for this idea.

Wiatr Speech

AU211306 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83 p 5

["Report" on speech by Jerzy Wiatr, head of the PZPR Central Committee Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, at the 15 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Excerpt] The issue of the place of ideology in party life and in the present ideological struggle is another issue directly concerned with the central subjects of this plenum. For years the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism have been attacking the connection between the party and its activities on the one hand, and its theory and ideology on the other. Almost 30 years ago the well-known French right-wing philosopher Raymon Aron proclaimed proudly -- albeit prematurely and wrongly -- that ideology, especially Marxist ideology, would experience its twilight. Life has given lie to this thesis worldwide and in our country, because, in contrast with what our adversaries continue to assert, there is no retreat in Poland from ideology. On the contrary, the interest in ideological issues and in the connected disputes have intensified in the past few years, which is quite natural because people are looking for a lodestar and for answers to the questions agitating them.

This revival, however, goes hand in hand with an unprecedented revival of what to me is the great and fundamental weakness of our ideological activities. This weakness is that the correct theoretical assumptions and correct theoretical formulas that are consistent with the state of social awareness are often at odds with practice. Sociological and related research done in the seventies and in the past few years has clearly demonstrated that the system of evaluations, espectations, and values of our society is essentially socialist. This system of evaluations of the workers class and other sections of the working people gives priority to the values of social justice and shared responsibility for collective life and not to bourgeois or neobourgeois values of property. I do not deny that neobourgeois values and attitudes do exist but I want them to be seen in the right proportions.

The last issue: We are waging an acute struggle against our ideological adversaries and against antisocialist forces. This struggle is the basic front of the ideological struggle, but there is another front at which a struggle is waged for someone rather than against someone -- for the people who are disappointed and disaffected and who are prey to apathy and disbelief, which is not only their own fault.

I am convinced that correctly winning the struggle to give people back their hopes for a better life and their will to make life better will determine to a decisive extent whether we are able to effectively defeat our crisis.

Janicki Speech

AU211337 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83 p 4

["Report" on speech by Jerzy Janicki, Central Committee member and deputy manager of the Ursus plant in Warsaw, at the 15 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Our people have returned from a long trip. Polish communists had to repulse counterrevolutionary attacks, on the one hand, and defend themselves against rightist-opportunist and revisionist forces in the party, on the other. It was a tough struggle but it helped the party to acquire much experience and knowledge.

Our state has no material fat, and this is why it has to appeal to one's patriotism and sense of responsibility for the fate of our people. It must create the collective awareness of the Poles. The process of the party's in-depth regeneration must continue. The party must in no case adopt the principle of abolition [abolicja] because this would restrict the necessary purge process, without which the party will continue to be a social movement torn apart by internal contradictions. We must approach the happenings within the party from the class viewpoint and not from the viewpoint of ad hoc political evaluations. We must not place workers, scientists, creative people, or journalists on the same level. Counterrevolution did not arise within the workers class. It arose within the intelligentsia and the neobourgeoisie. It was from these sections of society that counterrevolution was smuggled into factories. This means that the responsibility for the fact that sections of the workers class let themselves be swindled by the counterrevolutionary forces should devolve on the Gierek-Jaroszewicz team and on the revisionist forces present in the party within its intelligentsia, and, above all, within the so-called party ideological front. It was these forces that took the party's ideological weapons from it and supported counterrevolution openly or secretly. That is why we must apply the most stringent evaluation criteria to party members in the opinion- and culture-forming communities.

The party's main strategic objective aimed at eliminating a permanent threat of counterrevolution is to economically and politically strengthen the socialist state. This must go hand in hand with the struggle for social awareness. Unmasking the activities and aims of antisocialist groups plays an important role in this struggle. We must show how the state and the people can be threatened by antisocialist activities. In this connection it is necessary to make further efforts to effectively liquidate the myths that were created by 16 months of Solidarity propaganda.

Good propaganda is of decisive significance, but we must see that propaganda is not conducted by the people who prior to 13 December revealed themselves as determined adversaries of the party and government and as allies and militant activists of the antisocialist opposition. Nor must propaganda be conducted by those who vacillated between the power apparatus and its adversaries.

Wronski Speech

AU211329 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83 pp 4-5

["Report" on speech by Stanislaw Wronski, chief editor of NOWE DROGI, at the 15 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Speeches were made at this plenum to show that people expect a radical breakthrough in party ideological activities after the 13th plenum, which is to make this breakthrough. People's expectations of improvements originating at the top are old hat. Such an expectation was fulfilled only once -- on 13 December 1981. Improvements can follow only gradually, through the intensive efforts of many people.

What is our present situation? We got a drubbing, but our opponent in the ring dropped his guard and got bashed on the nose. But he has not been knocked out. He is still in his corner and is determined to survive until the next round. The fight is continuing.

We have said: "Socialism 'Yes,' distortions of socialism 'No.'" Today we must say that the spearhead of the workers dictatorship should be directed precisely against distortions of socialism in the same way that it is directed against our open enemies. This is the true meaning and reason for the existence of this dictatorship. A cliche formula has developed that the so-called Solidarity extremists and not the Solidarity masses are guilty of aggravating the 1981 crisis and political actions against socialism. But how was it possible that such extremists were able to get hold of young workers' minds? After all, this was not done under the slogan of "Socialism, 'Yes,' distortions of socialism, 'No.'" This is the slogan of our party and our renewal. But those extremists used other slogans for their "renewal." They used this slogan: "Down with communism, down with the party." Why was it that hundreds of thousands of young workers followed this slogan? We will never be able to run away from this question.

Instead of arguing along this line, let me cite from the speech made here by Comrade Andrzej Wasilewski. His speech will be published in the October issue of NOWE DROGI: "A few days ago I waited over an hour in a line in a state office to make monthly payments to state institutions. The office was terribly overheated and stuffy. There were some 50 people waiting in line with me, and all of them looked extremely exhausted. Two young men came in, looked at us, and one of them remarked: "Just look what communism did to them. Very soon we will all be like that."

This office was an example of irrational public practices that provoke irrational responses. A. Wasilewski said. What would have happened in a rationally organized state in which routine payments had to be made under such torturous conditions? At the first session of the city council someone would raise such a matter and demand that the head of the city's post offices be instantly dismissed. In our country it would never occur to anyone to take such action.

The slogan "Socialism, 'Yes,' distortions of socialism, 'No'" will not help us by itself. If not eliminated at once, so-called distortions will always be ascribed to our system. Let us recall that at one time censorship forbade the press to criticize the noisy buses in Warsaw, which had been bought from the bankrupt French firm of Berliet. Who was it that the state institution of censorship protected, and from whom?

I cited two examples from different times. How is the citizen to distinguish between socialism and distortions of socialism? The aforementioned practices are the soil from which young people's massive support for attacks against socialism has grown. We say that these young people's stance was a result of bad upbringing. All right, but let us add that this upbringing was fostered and will be fostered by the evil that is not criticized and that runs rampant under the screen of socialist institutions. Let us bear in mind that we can start reeducating these angry young people by inviting them to uproot that evil.

For over a year General Jaruzelski has appealed in almost every speech for purging from our life all neglects. Workers dictatorship should be directed against these neglects. It should be directed against the enemy, of course, but also against these neglects. Otherwise there will be no socialist renewal of the party, the state, and the economy. Only empty verbiage will remain.

Ideological Tasks

AU211442 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83 p 6

[Resolution adopted by the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on 15 October entitled "The Party's Ideological Tasks in Implementing the Line of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee approves the assessments and goals of the party's ideological work as presented in the Politburo report and in the speech by Central Committee First Secretary W. Jaruzelski and accepts these assessments and goals as the guidelines for party work during the period leading up to the 10th congress.

The basis tasks of the party at the present stage of socialist construction have been worked out by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

In implementing the congress' program in accordance with the line of socialist renewal and of struggle, accord, and reforms adopted during this congress, we have removed the greatest threats posed by the antisocialist forces. It became possible to lift martial law. Today the party, the workers class, and the entire community are facing the need to strengthen the stabilization process, permanently overcome inflation, and create the right conditions for the harmonious development of the economy and for the socialist rebirth of the life of the country.

These tasks are being performed during a time of a dangerously sharpened international situation caused by the aggressive policy of imperialist forces and by the political struggle inside the country, which is inspired by these forces, and in which hostile forces are trying to place the strategic goals of the anticommunist crusade before Poland's interests.

This requires that the party and its cells, organizations, and members wage a stubborn battle for the sake of consolidating all patriotic forces for the defense of the country, its security, and domestic order, so that the crisis is overcome and so that we may reembark on the road to economic development. During this battle we are rebuilding the party's ties with the workers class and with working people in general as the permanent basis for the party's leadership role, and we are strengthening the alliance between the workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia.

Strengthening the Marxist-Leninist ideological unity of the party requires the utmost concern. Sensitivity is required toward all phenomena that weaken party ranks and make it difficult to implement the resolutions of the ninth congress and of the Central Committee. A stubborn battle waged daily is necessary in order to win society's understanding and support for party policy and firm influence on the minds of society is required.

These tasks must be included in the party's ideological activity and in the work of all its cells and organizations. These bodies should be guided by the principle of political, ideological, and economic unity. The party's ideological activity must not be treated separately from its economic tasks and separately from the battle that is still being waged in various social circles to overcome the divisions in these circles. The unifying goal of the party's entire ideological work is to make social practice conform to the ideological principles of socialism.

Chapter I

1. In the daily work of all party cells and organizations those political and ideological initiatives that encourage a real strengthening of ties with the workers class and with all working people have priority. This requires active influence on the

shaping of patriotism and dedication among society, and it requires a battle for the elimination from the minds of young people of the hostile doctrines, views, lies, and myths that the political adversary is still fomenting and spreading among them.

The Central Committee recommends that: the system of social consultations be improved; the role of trade unions in this system be increased; direct contacts between party authorities and cells, on the one hand, and work forces and representatives of other circles, on the other, be made more frequent; and that the results of opinion polls be more widely used.

2. Concern for the social and material interests of working people is the party's basic duty. It is necessary to firmly eliminate from life everything that violates the socialist principles of social justice. The Central Committee recommends the establishment of a concept behind a system of worker-peasant control and that work on this concept be commenced.

3. Increasing workers' participation in management, the party will help form and support the socialist forms of organizing the social and professional lives of working people. Every party member is obliged to support the regenerating trade union movement by means of his energetic approach, and to fight for this movement's class character. Party organizations and cells must concern themselves with the development of workers self-management bodies, and help remove all barriers obstructing these bodies' performance of their role as jointly managing and jointly responsible bodies in the life of enterprises. At the same time, they should oppose the reemergence of anarchosyndicalist trends and any actions that are against the law on workers self-management bodies inside state enterprises.

4. The Central Committee places primary party cells and organizations under an obligation to disseminate the principle whereby tasks for individuals are distributed equally, and to continue the practice of assessing the attitudes of party members, their activity inside their social circles, and the way they discharge their statutory duties.

The Central Committee makes it obligatory to include all primary party organizations and all party members in the general party training system. An urgent task is to develop training work among the aktivs, chiefly by means of a system of Marxist-Leninist party courses. The aktivs should be given better conditions for increasing their qualifications through private study and they should be required to read the party press.

Training work is meant to better prepare party cadres for organizational activity, make them more ideologically-morally militant, and equip them for battle against bourgeois ideology and against the revisionist and dogmatic trends that weaken the party at the main battle front.

The system of training party cadres for party ideological activity should be developed. The Central Committee is placing the Politburo under an obligation to prepare and adopt a long-term plan for raising the qualifications of party cadres at the ideological front.

It is also necessary to ensure the right conditions for the development of the activity of ideological training centers attached to local and factory party cells as far as organization, cadres, and materials are concerned.

Chapter II

The Central Committee recognizes that one of the party's supreme tasks is to further strengthen the socialist state, develop democracy, extend the accord that exists between the nation's patriotic forces, and restore equilibrium and development to the economy.

1. The institutions of people's authority -- the Sejm and the people's councils of all levels -- need to be strengthened. The Central Committee demands that work be undertaken on preparing a new set of regulations for elections to representative bodies. It is necessary to firmly remove the bureaucratic obstacles to passing laws that improve the functioning of the state.

2. The political, professional, and ethical level of the state and economic administrative apparatus should be raised and the quality of the cadres inside this apparatus should be improved. Cadres in this apparatus should be guaranteed correct working conditions and the possibility of increasing their qualifications. They should also be defended against unfair accusations. At the same time, the haughtiness, bureaucratism, disrespect for people, neglect of human affairs, arrogance, and misuse of powers that are once again making themselves visible must be firmly counteracted.

3. Party cells and organizations must continue and develop energetic activity for the sake of PRON, in order to increase its role in the sociopolitical life of the country and in the life of local communities.

4. The PZPR unchangingly supports every citizen's freedom of conscience and religion and it also supports tolerance and the strict observance of the division between the Church and the state, all of which are guaranteed by the Constitution. While fully respecting the religious freedom of all churches and religious sects in Poland and the establishment of relations between the Church and the state in accordance with the interests of the PPR, the party recognizes at the same time that avid clericalism and religious intolerance and the misuse of religious vestments and places of worship in order to carry out political activity against the interests of the PPR, which violates the legal order and breaches the peace, are inadmissible.

5. The economic reform and the austerity and anti-inflation programs should be consistently implemented and the incentive systems should be altered in such a way that wages are made strictly dependent on a growth in productivity. Party organizations must counteract trends whereby enterprises with higher powers misuse them in a way that clashes with social interests, and they must take the lead in the battle against the waste of public resources, bureaucratic work style, violations of workers' honor, breaches of working discipline, laziness, and wasting time.

6. Deformities in the private sector must be firmly counteracted, especially clashes between this sector and the socialist economy, including the earning of high income out of proportion to the amount of work done, speculation, and tax evasion. In the battle against these phenomena, it is necessary to consistently employ the existing laws, increase the investigation work of state bodies of control, and increase the forms of social control.

Chapter III

The Central Committee regards it as a particularly important task to ensure the dominant role of Marxism-Leninism in the country's intellectual life, shape socialist political, economic, historical, and legal awareness, and develop educational work among young people.

1. The Politburo will examine a comprehensive program that involves scientific research in the most important ideological problems and political, economic, and cultural needs of the country's development. The Politburo will also adopt a long-term program of cadre policy in the social sciences covering the entire process of training and improving scientific cadres.

2. A national conference involving the social sciences and humanities should be convened. This conference would assess the state of these sciences in Poland and would establish their tasks in the light of the 13th plenum resolutions.

A second national party theoretical-ideological conference should be held before the 10th party congress. This conference should discuss the most important theoretical problems connected with preparing a future PZPR program in time for the 10th congress, as well as analyze the thorny ideological problems connected with this program.

3. A long-term concept for developing the national education system should be worked out and presented at a Central Committee session this year, during the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

Cadre policy in education, especially higher education, requires improvement. Cadre policy should combine didactic and scientific requirements with the duties of teachers to a better degree than to date. Educational and scientific authorities must combat the neglect by schools and colleges of their educational duties, and firmly eliminate educational patterns that are contrary to socialism.

Party organizations inside schools and colleges must be strengthened. These organizations should encourage a better teaching level, support socialist social and youth organizations, and counteract the influence of antisocialist groups and propaganda centers on young people and teachers.

4. The activities of party bodies and cells and of the state and economic administration should create a better access to culture for as many people as possible, especially the working class and the peasants. Trade unions, workers self-management bodies, social and youth organizations, and creative associations should also disseminate culture. The party's and state's cultural policy must encourage the emergence of those values that develop national culture and shape society's socialist consciousness.

In cultural exchange more use should be made of the cultural values of the socialist countries and all humanistic values of world culture should also be accessible. At the same time it is necessary to firmly counteract whatever harms the nation's cultural identity.

5. The mass media should publicize a class assessment of the processes and phenomena occuring in the life of the country and the world more and more effectively. They should explain and gain social support for the policy of the party and the socialist state, and counteract the negative phenomena occuring in social life. The development of press criticism should be encouraged and journalists should be guaranteed wide access to information. Party teams of journalists should criticize any article containing views and interpretations contrary to the socialist principles of the country's development, distorts the picture of reality, and undermines the interests of the political party's line. The training system should be developed and the level of political knowledge and qualifications of journalists should be raised.

6. Party organizations and cells and party members inside the youth movement must see that youth organizations are strengthened, cooperation between them is increased, more young people take part in tackling the most important social problems, and that all youth circles become more socially active.

7. The great contribution of the Polish People's Army in the work of bringing young people up in a socialist manner, shaping patriotism and internationalism among them, and developing feelings of citizens' responsibility and respect among them for social norms of life and for moral values must be continued and developed.

The PZPR Central Committee -- gathered at its 13th plenum, the first since the end of martial law in Poland -- pays its deepest respect and expresses its thanks to the soldiers of the Polish People's Army, to the functionaries of the Security Service and the Citizen's Militia, and also to members of the Voluntary Citizens' Militia Reserve, for their great contribution toward guaranteeing the fatherland peace in the defense of the state and of socialism.

The Central Committee stresses the great importance of increasing ideological cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU and the other parties of the socialist countries. This cooperation develops friendship between the fraternal countries, strengthens the unity of the countries of the socialist community, enables these countries to acquaint themselves with and make better use of each other's experiences in the construction of real socialism, and serves to establish the idea of socialist internationalism.

The PZPR will increase its cooperation with the entire international communist and workers movement, joining in the battle being fought by the world forces of progress and peace.

The battle that is being fought in our country is not only our domestic business but is also a part of the combined global conflict between capitalism and socialism. The PZPR Central Committee calls on the whole of society to mobilize all people of goodwill and all the nation's patriotic forces in order to firmly counteract attempts to treat Poland as a card in the game of confrontation, this counteraction stemming from one's knowledge of the dangers inherent in the aggressive and anti-peace policy of imperialism. May progress in stabilization and in normalization in Poland and our common voice confirm Poland's invariably peaceful intentions and our readiness to protect the world and also protect human values, the highest of which is peace.

Central Committee of the PZPR, Warsaw, 15 October 1983

Accountability Campaign

AU211533 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83 p 3

[Resolution adopted by the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on 15 October entitled "On Carrying Out the Accountability and Election Campaign in PZPR Primary, Plant, Gmina [Parish], Urban-Gmina, Urban, Precinct, and Voivodship Organizations in 1983-84"]

[Text] 1. In accordance with the PZPR statute, the term of office of the authorities of the primary, plant, gmina, urban-gmina, precinct, and voivodship party organizations expires at the turn of 1983-84. In implementing the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress resolution, the Central Committee intends to carry out the accountability-election campaign in party organizations up to and including the voivodship level. In the Armed Forces this campaign will be carried out in units up to and including military districts and branches of the armed services.

2. Accountability-election meetings and conferences will comprehensively evaluate in their party organizations the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the ninth congress and the Central Committee. They will also evaluate the implementation of their own resolutions and proposals adopted during the precongress accountability-election campaign and the 1982-83 accountability campaign. They will adopt action programs in order to fully implement the ninth congress resolutions in the new term and will elect the authorities and control bodies of their organizations.

3. The accountability-election campaign should help improve the work of all party organizations and committees, strengthen their ties with various communities, and increase their ability to effectively solve the daily problems of these communities. The campaign should also help create conditions for developing the militancy of every individual party member in line with the principle that party fitness amounts primarily to the duty to be a leading member of one's community.

4. Meetings and conferences should focus their attention on the most important tasks at present:

-- propagating and implementing the ideological materials of the 13th plenum;

-- consistently implementing the principles of social justice and combating negative features of social life;

-- evaluating the implementation of the economic reform, the 3-year socioeconomic plan, and the austerity and anti-inflation programs; mapping out tasks to improve the effectiveness of economic management, to increase discipline, and to improve work organization because these improvements will improve the flow of consumer goods to marketplaces and society's living conditions;

-- stabilizing sociopolitical life on the platform of accord of the nation's patriotic forces and of the struggle against the political adversary; creating conditions for further strengthening trade unionism, self-management bodies, social organizations, and youth organizations and for their cooperation on the basis of the socialist constitutional principles because this should help release the production and sociopolitical militancy of work forces and communities.

5. The PZPR Central Committee approves the sociopolitical objectives and organizational assumptions laid down in the "Directives of the PZPR Politburo in Connection With the PZPR Accountability-Election Meetings and Conferences in 1983-84."

6. Meetings and conferences will elect new authorities and control bodies of party organizations and will seek to select leading teams composed of the comrades who are ideologically committed and who are experienced in organizing party work.

The elections will be carried out in accordance with temporary rules resulting from the principles laid down by the statute adopted by the ninth congress.

The Central Committee approves the "Temporary Rules for Electing Delegates, Authorities, and Control Bodies in Primary, Plant, Gmina, Urban-Gmina, Urban, and Precincts Organizations of the PZPR and of Electing Authorities and Control Bodies in Voivodship Party Organizations." These rules were discussed with party aktivs and delegates to the ninth party congress.

The temporary rules will be in force during the 1983-84 accountability-election campaign. After they have been tested in the course of this campaign and after they have been supplemented with the proposals resulting from it, in accordance with the ninth party congress resolution, they will be presented by the Central Committee to the national conferences of PZPR delegates for their acceptance.

7. The PZPR Central Committee has decided to carry out accountability-election meetings and conferences at the following times:

a) meetings of party groups and shop and primary party organizations will be held from mid-October to November 1983;

b) plant, gmina, urban-gmina, urban, and precinct conferences will be held in November and December 1983;

c) voivodship conferences will be held in December 1983 and January 1984.

Signed: PZPR Central Committee

Jaruzelski Concluding Speech

AU202100 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 83 pp 1, 3, 5

["Text" of concluding speech by PZPR Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 16 October session of the 13th Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: This 13th plenum has made us richer with many new views and proposals. Its discussion was lively and unusually militant and was supported by 77 comrades, 44 of whom made speeches from the floor and the others placed theirs in the plenum minutes.

The Politburo report tackled key ideological issues in an analytical and detailed manner and has been approved by the Central Committee. In view of this I will discuss only some of the issues.

How should we characterize our plenum's guiding line? Probably as follows: First, our party needs more class ideological-creative awareness, in which, as Lenin said, we should see the main source of enhancing the party's strength; second, our party needs more day-to-day militancy in order to turn ideology into tangible facts and social reality; third, our party needs more achievements in order to reaffirm the stability and irreversibility of the ninth party congress line, which is winning us the trust of workers and society.

Life dictated the subjects of this plenum. We have followed a long road during the almost 40 years of People's Poland, with over 3 years of particularly acute struggles against the forces of reaction and domestic and external threats, and with over 2 years of implementation of the ninth congress line.

The extraordinary measures of martial law, the resolute struggle against our adversary, patient efforts to reach agreement, and, primarily, consistency in implementing socialist renewal have produced progress in normalization for everyone to see. We should not credit only ourselves with these achievements, however. They have been scored by those who have been in the frontline from the very beginning and by those who have made their choice by stages. We should also credit with national salvation those citizens who, despite bitterness and doubts, were at critical moments and still are in favor of order, social peace, and work.

Normalization is not an aim in itself; it is merely an initial condition for the success of further progress. The future will be determined by the manner in which we exploit normalization.

In his book about 1944, Zbigniew Zaluski characterized the enormous influence which the apparently bleak and ineffective beginnings of the Lublin days had on the ultimate victory of People's Poland. We should bear in mind that it was then that the events that determined the victory of the Polish left wing and the consolidation of people's power were settled. In the same way as the Manifesto issued by the Polish National Liberation Committee was a harbinger of a new historical road for our people, so the ninth congress confirmed this road and proclaimed our return to the sources.

Many comrades remember the importance attached by the party in the initial post-war years to the resolve to score some achievements every day in order to make people realize that power and the system were theirs. We can say the same about the present period. We have already created the necessary conditions for and the structure of what is commonly called socialist renewal. The fates of the ninth congress program are now being determined by daily work and by daily talks with the workers class and society.

The adoption by the 12th Central Committee plenum of "The Report on the Work of the Central Committee Commission Appointed To Explain the Reasons for and the Course of Social Conflicts in People's Poland" clearly shows that all the socioeconomic conflicts in Poland to date have been caused by the weakening of the political and moral-psychological ties between the party and the workers class -- ties that determine the strength of our party and its place in the life of society. The more specific, tangible evidence there is that we continue to correct our errors and to really implement our reforms and that we are capable of this implementation, the less our adversary will be able to to his work and the more our society will trust in our ideology and our policy.

Our line is and must be clear and simple. At the present stage of development it is no longer enough to announce that there will be no return to the anarchy before 13 December 1981 and to the deformations rife before August 1980. This should be recorded in every party card, if I may use such a metaphor, because we are waging an acute struggle, which is not taking place in the streets and on the surface of life, but primarily in the depths of life and in public awareness. The fact that the Central Committee has tackled ideological issues is the party's response to this situation.

Martial law has been abolished but propaganda aggression and comprehensive activities by the enemy are continuing. The enemy has not given up the plans we frustrated on 13 December 1981. We have been able to essentially weaken our adversary and to force him to defend himself, but we still need resolution and consistency, because he is now employing indirect methods and is making attempts to achieve the same objectives in a slightly different way, at another pace, and by other means. Maintaining the state of uncertainty, boycotts, "whisperings," unrest on national anniversaries, and social demagogy are some of the forms of the struggle fought by our adversary, who comes from the period before December 1981. These forms of struggle give him a hope that something like a "second stage" may materialize, that the power apparatus will not be able to withstand the pressure from the West, and that it will become tired and will lose its bearings under the spell of various humbug offers. The abject appeals for the continuation of imperialist sanctions also serve this purpose. One of the former leaders of the former association of journalists who now lives in the West has treated us not so long ago to such appeal in the U.S. press.

The adversary's hopes that we would retreat are unrealistic. Nothing will be able to deflect us from our chosen path. This was once again reaffirmed by the unambiguous and militant atmosphere of this plenum. Today our path follows verified and tested lines and constitutes a principled, as well as creative, continuation of what has been best and most productive in all the 40 years of People's Poland.

Our ideological, political, and educational task is to see that the workers class and as many citizens as possible -- in fact almost all our people -- understand the essence, meaning, and conditions of the present situation. What we are facing is the soreness of social fiber, which means that in political terms we are still under conditions of special martial law. At present we have to pay double for every error and every step in the right direction is half as visible as in normal conditions.

The 13th plenum has evaluated the state of our party and its ideological inner life. We have recognized that the party has not ceased even for a moment to be the leading force in our state. Following the shocks it has gone through, however, it is just recovering its leading role in society. That is why criticism and self-criticism are especially justified, important, and desirable during our debates.

Reconstructing the party's ties with its workers class and the working people and retrieving people's trust is our most important task. Day by day and step by step we should liquidate the present gap between the party and a section of the world of labor.

We can do this in only one way: People should be able to sense that they vitally need the party, that it is close to them, that it is the best mainstay in the struggle against difficulties, problems, stagnancy, idleness, and all kinds of evil, and that its program and tasks seek only the good of the nation.

Our activities after the ninth congress and 13 December 1981 have to be carefully evaluated.

We must give daily account of how we continue to overcome our crisis and to repair and reform the individual spheres of life. We know that we have accomplished a great deal but we have still not accomplished everything we should accomplish.

This also applies to the party leadership, which is far from being complacent. For example, we have not been able to solve to the desired extent such important problems as the comprehensively conceived problems of young people and upbringing. Weighed down by day-to-day problems, we have not been able to devote sufficient attention to long-term tasks. The complete implementation of resolutions and decisions is still our weak point. We should also arrange at last for more meetings between the party and state leadership, on the one hand, and factory work forces and party and social aktivs, on the other. This was what Comrade Stepien also mentioned. We will take every appropriate action in this connection, and the first secretary will personally see that it is taken.

At this plenum, however, we should stress primarily the fact that the system of assisting and ideologically supplementing party activities is not operating to an adequate extent, although correct ideological orientation is absolutely necessary in order to map out the objectives and find the arguments that will be generally approved. However, the facts determine everything. They either give wings to an idea or undermine and even embarrass it.

When we speak of ideology, we do not speak of something abstract, but of a factor that motivates and profoundly determines the conduct of man. Every person has only one life, but everyone -- no matter whether he admits it -- has an ideology that he follows in his daily life. Ideology is an expression of class interests. By this token it determines many things in man's life: his attitude to greater and lesser social issues, the problems of his private life, and the examples given by him to his own children.

It is true that living conditions determine one's awareness, but it is also true that without the necessary awareness it is difficult to determine one's living conditions. After all, we often see that individual people and even entire communities, who owe to socialism -- including high standards of material conditions -- education, promotion, popularity, and fulfilled opportunities of life, hate people's power with every fiber of their bodies. On the other hand, how many honest, industrious, and dedicated men and women, who have to cope with great difficulties, high prices, bad housing conditions, and the arrogance of the log-rolling cliques, continue to have faith in socialism and to be convinced that people's power is their power.

It is not only we communists who attach great importance to ideological issues. The adversary, who continues to propagate his views whenever and however possible, attaches the same importance to these issues.

We encounter some kind of ideology and some kind of the system of values even in shopping lines, marketplaces, classrooms, canteens, homes, conversations, and daily conduct.

The ideological struggle is being waged everywhere every day. All communities and groups of people are affected by it and it is present in every conversation about important social issues. It is our party duty to participate in such conversations and to defend socialist and workers interests, oppose hostile arguments, and convince and win over the other side. Many participants in this plenum made very wise and interesting speeches on this subject.

We will have grounds to be satisfied with our party's ideological condition if party members, as was the case in the first years of People's Poland, use simple, plain language when telling the working people about the purpose of life and about the right stakes, aspirations, and struggles in life. As was said here today, however, there are also people "who continue to suffer in silence" and are afraid to protest when others slander the party in their presence. There are also those "backroom revolutionaries" who are very vociferous when trumpeting their principles to their own acquaintances but say and write nothing in public, except for some commonplaces which are no threat to anything.

Comrades, Lenin's achievements are an example of great theoretical creativeness, revolutionary activity, objectivity, tangibleness, averseness to verbosity, and enormous respect for the small results that go on to produce great achievements.

Of course, we do not want to go from one extreme to another. Narrow practicism is harmful, but the thing is that the facts are more impressive than words. That is why the party needs a profound sense of realism and practical sensitivity, because ideological activities are rooted in life and practice.

Much has always been said -- especially now -- about the role and importance of the workers class and the significance of Marxism-Leninism. Some people use these words all the time when talking or writing. He who uses these words more than other people do think that he is more principled than other people. It goes without saying that we use words when talking about Marxism-Leninism but the most important point is that we should have Marxism-Leninism in our heads and hearts and, above all, express it in our activities and conduct.

Our movement does not need lip service to ideology. It does not need to proclaim slogans as remote from life as the sky is from the earth. Comrade Wronski made a very interesting speech about this. We should bear in mind that it was precisely Marxism-Leninism that proved that no argument, not even the most logical one, can count on more extensive support from the people if in the long run it is at odds with the logic of the working people's interests.

The Party Leads and Serves the Workers Class

It is the task of the party to take care of the working and living conditions, position, and prestige of the workers class. The party leads the workers class but it is also its servant. As editor Bartosz wrote recently from Wroclaw: The party's duty is not only to represent the workers class, but to identify itself with it. It is impossible to lead it effectively if there is no sense of service to its class values and interests. In the same way as the party does not exist for itself alone, the workers class does not exist for itself alone. Only the hegemony [hegemonia] of this class and the implemented ideas of the workers movement are the best guarantee that the interests of all working people and of the successful construction of socialism are taken into account.

We are facing the big task of enlarging the area in which the leading role of the workers class should be demonstrated more effectively in practice. Better conditions for organizing this role during the process of production should be of great importance. For example, in the USSR the new system of work done by brigades includes many mobilizing elements such as considerable independence and strong material and moral incentives. It is also worth carefully studying the interesting experience of our comrades in the GDR, Hungary, and other countries of real socialism. As a genuine master, the workers class should be able to take advantage of the opportunities provided for it by trade unions, self-management bodies in enterprises, and territorial self-management bodies. An ever stronger representation of the workers class should find its way to the Sejm, the people's councils, and other representative bodies. We will expand the system of consultations and hold workers conferences such as we held last March. The system of worker inspectors can become a new and very important body. The work on proposals in this regard will begin soon. We should attach special attention to strengthening the party's workers backbone and we should see that workers are suitably represented at all levels of the power apparatus. We should bear this in mind, especially now, on the eve of the accountability and election campaign.

Comrades, Marxism-Leninism is an action directive. To know the theory of scientific socialism is the duty of party cadres. The party member must demonstrate his knowledge in action. Socialist construction requires an intellectual effort to get to know social reality and to devise the rational ways of transforming it. This is a great task for the social sciences. I would say it is a great combat task posed by the party for its theoretical aktivs.

The party bears special responsibility for the historical education of the people, especially young people.

Events in the life of a nation are determined by its history, which it is impossible to turn back to its beginnings. The task of the living generations is to shape the sector of the history for which they are responsible in accordance with the requirements of the time they live in and the logic of social progress. Exhuming the ideas that refer to Poland as a "shield" of Christianity, revitalizing catastrophic concepts, searching for close enemies and for distant friends -- all this is abusing patriotism and calls for resolute counteraction in Poland's very interest.

We will never cease to fight the attempts to rehabilitate the political doctrines and lines canceled by history and the efforts to explain the past in the spirit of nationalism, chauvinism, national nihilism, and the cosmopolitan complex of little value.

Our adversaries are trying to resuscitate the most backward features of the past and continue to appeal that Poland, as the first and certainly only country in the world, should assume the risk of trying out the forms of socioeconomic organizations that have never proved themselves anywhere. In the present world there is no fashion, idea, and intellectual obsoleteness that would not be used by our adversaries in their struggle against the party and the socialist state.

The ideological struggle that is going on in factories and among work forces is of special importance for the workers vanguard. The party must constantly study the aspirations, expectations, and awareness of workers. Efforts to shape this awareness must go hand in hand with militant actions to counter the ideas and views propagated by the forces and centers hostile to socialism. If the party slights the life experience and feelings of workers and the working people in general, it ceases to be a party of the masses and succumbs to bureaucracy. In turn, if it surrenders to elementary forces [zywiol], it becomes a tool of demagogy and its ideology suffers from erosion.

The party does not have to curry favor. It is its duty to speak the truth and only the truth. It is its duty to tell the workers class and all the people what is feasible as well as what is necessary.

The party is neither a missionary nor an administrator. In order to serve worker interests well, we have had and will have to make difficult and unpopular decisions.

The party must not lead people astray by making empty declarations and promises. It must not give in to demands it is impossible to implement. The class character of the party should be demonstrated by consistent daily work within the workers class and in worker organizations. Trade union, youth, and self-management work is the duty of the party.

Comrades, it is not enough to be right and to have correct ideology. Ideology can be propagated and used to win the hearts and minds of people only if it is sown on soil that has been made fertile by positive achievements. Things become worse if this situation is reversed. Comrade Kurdziel was right in warning us against too facile optimism. Some people have understood little and have learned nothing. The dramatic events of the past period have made as much impression on them as water makes on the back of a duck. They again know everything better than anyone else and again thrust out their chests. Men and women exist for them only as objects of arbitrary management. Their thoughts, feelings, worries, and difficulties are of no consequence. There are also people who have again taken to a big-wig style of living and work and who are excessively concerned for their own private affairs. They are switching over to a style of work that is marked by bureaucracy, their own comfort, and excessively rigid office hours. In addition, as Comrade Hanf correctly observed, many of them are so sure of themselves now kept a safe distance not so long ago.

We Oppose All Kinds of Evil

Past experience has made us especially sensitive in terms of morality to every discrepancy, however small, that appears between the theory and practice of government. Conscientious and honest people are decisively predominant in the party and administration. However, hints continue to come in -- speeches at this plenum have confirmed this -- that in some rural parishes, towns, and individual factories the climate of clique-mongering nepotism, selfish advantage, indifference to people's problems, and the lack of sensitivity to wrongs are again making their appearance.

I do not wish to discuss the problems that have not been settled as yet by party control commissions -- Comrade Urban was quite clear about this -- but it is impossible to pass over in silence the facts that show that party members who hold various functions in industry, construction, trade, and services, participate in various embezzlements and commit punishable acts of neglect and waste, that is, of sabotage.

A letter was sent from an enterprise to tell us that a luxury management building with expensive furnishings had been erected when the enterprise was being expanded. Asked to explain this affair, the manager wrote that everything was all right because only about Z3.5 million was spent for furniture, carpets, and chandeliers. I think that we will have to send such managers to an intensive course in moderation. We have also received reports that here and there sumptuous parties are again being organized at public expense and that in various regions of the country people can see how "important" hunters rush after the game during working hours.

As Comrade Paterka said, responsibility is the primary condition for being a manager. It should be openly stated that although the controlling bodies are increasingly more effective in their work, various bodies, including some party cells, are averse to taking necessary action when the control bodies identify the people who are responsible for certain transgressions.

It is obvious that some comrades like to condemn transgressions "in general," raising their eyes in indignation. But when they are in their own units they are often tolerant toward those who deserve no indulgence. In such cases party cells should take rigorous action and dismiss the people in question from responsible posts. I fully share the position of the comrades on this issue.

Fortunately, these features are not widespread. The Central Party Control Commission and local control commissions continue to respond to them with increasing resolution. Such a response will also be reflected in administrative and cadre decisions.

Editor Szeliga not so long described in RZECZPOSPOLITA his journey in a car of the Polish railroad belonging to an international train. The cars owned by other socialist countries were clean, comfortable, well equipped, and provided with good service, but our car was drafty, shabby, and messy. Not even the most elementary services were provided for passengers. It was a horror of a car. I do not want to draw any far-reaching conclusions, but there is a symbol in this story: We have to dismantle the Polish car. It must be a car that provides good service for passengers. It must not be a dirty Cinderella of the international socialist train. There is no reason why it should be shamefully concealed on some siding.

We must begin the work of tidying up by tidying ourselves up. Party members are everywhere -- in factories, institutions, management, shops. They are inside bodies of authority at all levels. So if there is anything bad going on somewhere, if work is being carried out in a worse way than conditions allow, or if people are being served badly -- this is our party's loss. One can even say that all the anomalies that appear in this sphere are animal species from the same zoo -- "working like a tortoise" or being as "blind as a bat" in the face of human affairs or social needs.

We can be accused of inflating the significance of moral problems. This would be an unfair accusation. In society, socialist renewal is taken not only to mean a collection of political-programmatic decisions, but above all a stage of changes that can be noticed in that sphere of life closest to use. No one will believe in an actual renewal without a consistent cleansing of life of evil and of social-moral degeneration.

We are deliberately illuminating negative phenomena with the light of criticism. In a strong light, one can see better how much -- and this I wish to stress once again -- they contrast with the conscientiousness and honesty that prevail inside the party, inside bodies of public authority, and in the public services. If we speak so sharply about this, it is mainly because we have on our mind party-political preventive measures and the combating of certain phenomena before they have a chance to spread and to grow to dangerous dimensions. We know from numerous painful experiences where these phenomena may lead.

So it is good that our plenum has been militant and sharp and that it has been critical, especially because other attitudes appear as well. There are people who are satisfied with themselves and who say that the mistakes are already behind us.

We have not taken out any patents on infallibility. There will be fewer mistakes made and the mistakes will be less costly if criticism and self-criticism become a tool that is used daily, a natural method of action that does not cause a sensation.

Mistakes are not only made by those who stand on the sidelines and make no decisions, who are responsible for nothing and do not wish to be responsible for anything. But perhaps forbearance, neglect, and the postponement of affairs that have to be settled today is even more reprehensible and harmful than making mistakes. There are still a lot of attitudes like this -- sluggish and passive.

In the light of the above, how important it is that the party should oppose all evil. It is, above all, from our own ranks that criticism should emerge and it is our ranks that should firmly combat all phenomena that are contrary to socialism and that supply the enemy with ammunition.

Principle-Mindedness Also Means the Ability To Convince People About Socialism

Comrades, we have fortunately rid ourselves of the former crippling conviction that we possess a monopoly over the shaping of social opinion in Poland. We are undertaking increasingly more effective and convincing polemics with propaganda subversion of the domestic and foreign political adversary. There is clear progress here. There is no longer a "propaganda of success" or a "propaganda of defeat," but this is a conclusion and task stemming from reality.

The party exercises leadership over the propaganda front. The press, radio, television, and information services are passing a difficult ideological examination every day. This examination is being passed by editors, writers, party organizations, and journalistic associations. But there are also unfavorable phenomena. It is necessary in particular to overcome the wait-and-see attitude, unwillingness to involve oneself in a direct struggle, and the tendency to involve oneself in a direct struggle, and the tendency to remain a spectator. Ideological-political muddle-headedness and flirtation must not go unmentioned. Principle-minded and excellent repartee and criticism should become an increasingly effective weapon. On the other hand, however, we must also break with boring didactics and annoying simplifications -- in other words with banality and boredom. We know that no propaganda will replace positive results of management and desired changes in life. But intelligent propaganda is absolutely esential in order to attain the above qualities.

Press titles are increasing, the circulation of newspapers and periodicals is growing, and television and radio programs are returning to normal. But quantity should be turned into quality more quickly. As Comrade Morawski has correctly said, the excellence and suggestiveness of the language used in propaganda and in our entire ideological work is exceptionally important.

The problem of ideological dangers was touched upon during the discussion. I wish to discuss this matter briefly.

Revisionism and dogmatism appear quite often in a crystal-clear shape, so to speak. But neither revisionists nor dogmatists believe they have this shape. One of them believes that he is the only implementer of socialist renewal and the other believes he is the only defender of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades, forgive the jocular comparison I am about to make, but something has come to my mind from children's television films. Some people are like Maya the bee, who intends to heal the world with her own personal sweetness and partiality to everyone. Others are like the brigand Rumcajs, who cannot move about the world without a gun.

Our party is acting under the conditions of a sharp class battle. Sooner or later, a disguised or undisguised class enemey will surely encounter every opportunist, every defeatist, and every ideologically "loose" activist who has begun to doubt the inviolability of our idea and line and who does not fight for this idea and line.

But the murmurs of various commentators of the party line, self-styled "guardians of the sacred fire," will not bring any advantages either. Principle-mindedness does not depend on a cannonade of sharp words but on an ability to convinced people and to initiate transformations that really give an impetus to the cause of socialism.

What is most important, however, is not what is going on in the so-called wings, where one cannot really advance, but what is going on in the core of our party. This core is more and more cohesive and unified, even though the attitudes of those in it are often neutral because a large number of party comrades still have not taken the resolutions of the ninth congress to heart. In this context it has to be said clearly that ignorance, lack of knowledge, superficiality, and confusion of ideas are also our dangerous adversaries. There is unsatisfactory knowledge of Marxist-Leninist attitudes. Certain party members assess matters "at a glance," and sometimes they succumb to gossip and sensation-seeking. One can sometimes see a basic lack of knowledge of facts, figures, and specifics. Readership of the party press, especially of NOWE DROGI, TRYBUNA LUDU, and other titles, is insufficient. Every party member should know the ABC's of ideology, history, politics, and economics. There are no views of the adversary's that cannot be counteracted by referring to honest arguments and a class analysis.

Of course, not every party member can be a theorist. But every one should be the kind of member whose unequivocal personal attitude, supply of basic arguments, and methods of presenting these arguments cause respect and keen interest among people in his immediate surroundings, at home, and at work. In any case, Comrade Jan Mukulski spoke about these kinds of situations and gave examples thereof -- colorfully as usual.

To be a communist means to be a bold and open person. It means to be among people, struggle with day to day matters, teach others and learn from others, listen to workers, and explain to workers the most important matters for Poland and for us today.

Acommunist should respect individuality, differences in taste, and the right to privacy, but in important matters he must be our "man of steel" in real life, not on celluloid.

I can mention the statute at this point. If this statute was closely observed by everyone, we would be a lot further than we are.

National Accord Is Based on Class Alliances

Comrades, national accord, which is a condition for the ninth congress line, is based on class alliances and not on an agreement between just anyone. We are not concerned with suppressing class differences or political ones, but with consolidation, based on the basic interests of the nation and on our political principles, which are inseparable from one another.

We are leading and we will continue to lead a ceaseless struggle with the enemy, and we will polemize with alien goals. There are Poles with whom we do not intend to "come to terms." There will be no pacts with the enemy, with pupils of imperialist subversion. But we hold out our hands to those who have gone politically astray -- often in good faith, through excitement or through bitterness -- and we are giving these people a chance to emerge with heads "held high" from the blind alley they have entered. We are constantly and honestly aiming at extending the bridgeheads that make it easy for people to come over on our side, the side of socialism. It is Lenin who taught that he who fails to personally win over at least one person for the cause cannot regard himself as a communist.

Many speakers have stressed that the situation in our country reminds one of a battle front. It is true that it is not without meaning for the party where a new comrade or ally has come from and why he has come, but a hundred times more important -- as Comrade Maniawski and Walichnowski have said, among others -- is whose side he has placed his support in, how he is behaving today, and whom he serves.

For example, do we not see today at central, voivodship, and rural parish level people who still a few years ago were regarded as indifferent or irresolute and yet during the most difficult years for the party made an unequivocal ideological choice? And how many people are joining the party in order to "prove their worth," as a young worker interviewed by a TRYBUNA LUDU reporter has said?

Let me at this point refer to a postwar experience. When shells are raining down on people's heads, a soldier does not ask his neighbor in the trench where he has come from and what he was. What counts is what that person is doing at that very moment, how he is behaving, and whether one can rely on him. As we know, many soldiers in the First Division and the First Army possessed very strong feelings of prejudice, perplexity, and doubt, and yet they did not fail in battle. And the reason that they did not fail was not simply because they were united by a common goal -- the battle against fascism and the freedom of Poland -- the reason was because Polish communists had brought them up, and that Soviet comrades-in-arms influenced them with their ideology and set an example for them, marching together with them through fire and water.

The duty to be patient and tactful concerns our contacts with young people in particular. We must struggle stubbornly and resolutely to win over young people. There is nothing more important than winning them over to the socialist cause.

Criticism is the natural characteristic of youth. Let us therefore inspire young people to fight against evil in all its forms. This is a chance to revert to the experiences which during the era of the Union of Young Fighters and the Union of Polish Youth made the members of these unions a fighting force against reactionism and philistinis [koltunstwo].

Ambition and a desire to stand out and distinguish oneself are also natural characteristics of youth. Let us, therefore, make sure that young people may prove their worth when facing difficult tasks, that they receive a chance to increase their qualifications and achieve deserved promotion and recogniton. Let us show to society young party activists, allied political forces, the PRON, trade unions, people's councils, young directors and leaders, inventors, and young creators -- all connected with the idea of socialism and to whom nothing is "all the same." And, above all, let us make sure that these young people join us.

Economic Reform Must Not Serve Egoistic Interests

Comrades, it is at this plenum that a few words have to be said about economic reform. The right approach to this reform is also ideological in nature. We are concerned with giving reforms a socialist face.

Reform is a great step along the road to changing the functioning of the economy and also of society. The independence of socialist enterprises has been considerably increased. The forms of central management over economy are being improved. This is a step in the right direction. But there are also dangers in existence, both those illustrated by a desire to return to old outdated methods and those represented by a desire to exploit independence for one's own egoistic interests.

During the discussion a great deal of attention was devoted to the problem of the private sector. I share the view of Comrades Otawa, Maniawski, and of many other Central Committee members as to the need to further sharpen our approach toward violations of the law in private industry and private services. We are giving this private industry a socially appropriate and economically justifiable framework. But we must see to it better than before that the regulations that have been laid down in this sphere be scrupulously adhered to and that departures from these regulations be severely punished.

Every sign of profiting from difficulties, getting fat at someone else's expense, and earning profits directly or indirectly creates, aside from negative economic results, even greater social, moral, and psychological damage. For this activity serves to discourage and corrupt people, harms the socialist feeling of justice, spreads symptoms of greed that are alien to the workers class, and also enhances the petit-bourgeois way of life. Thus, in the general economic sphere, this problem is a minor one, but in the social, ideological, and moral sphere it is a major problem.

We ask the independent courts to avail themselves more often of the possibility of imposing an additional punishment, such as publicizing the names of offenders, thieves of social property, and bribe-takers. We ask the courts to refrain from treating them with unjustified delicacy. Honest people should know who is robbing them and who is harming them. They should have full information on how corrupt practices are being combated. They should know how one can join in this battle. We are presenting the peacekeeping and judicial bodies and the state control apparatus with tasks that conform to the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat.

The problem, however, does not end with the private sector. This would be a simplification. The problem also covers more than one state and cooperative enterprise, and it concerns corrupt practices, leakages, and illegal economic activity, as well as neglect, waste, absenteeism, and laziness. Consistently healing, tidying up, and intensifying the socialized economy that prevails in Poland is a key condition behind improving the situation, including the moral situation throughout socioeconomic life.

Once again we are returning to the reform at this point. The reform is a great attempt made on the party's initiative and closely connected with the party's name. This reform is binding. As we know, the level of productivity will determine the quality of the system in the final reckoning. Our situation with productivity is not the best. This is not socialism's fault. A series of countries with real socialism are achieving good results without the whip of unemployment.

Reform creates a great chance, especially for the party and for every one of its members. The point of it is to take conscious part in the economic process and permanently set in motion the mechanism of economic progress for the sake of the interests of society and the state. This can only be achieved by making full use of the following basic values of socialism:

-- to each according to his work (in other words healthy material encouragement);

-- a wide field for initiative and inventiveness;

-- moral satisfaction, as befits a working person.

It is in this context that we perceive the great ideological-educational problem of becoming acquainted with and giving publicity to the best people, people who are hard-working, honest, and talented on the technical and organizational level, and who do not think only in terms of their own workplace.

It has become considerably more evident in recent years that social consciousness often cannot keep up with the socialist concepts of production. A split has occurred in the minds of many people between what ought to be done and what is being done by every individual. It is this that justifies most of all the need, expressed by Comrade Laszczak today, to make a stubborn effort for the socialist principles of social justice -- "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" -- to be heeded not only during distribution, but also in work, production, and management, and also in the entire cadre policy.

The acute discrepancies and disproportions that have emerged in the process of sociopolitical transformations in Poland have also been rightly pointed out today. Right now we must concentrate on the discrepancy between a considerably modern production potential, on the one hand, and bad work organizational, low work quality and productivity, and an unsatisfactory standard of management, on the other.

Forty Years of People's Poland -- A Turning Point in Our History

The mistakes and all the weaknesses about which we have been speaking so openly today do not alter the fact that a 40th anniversary is really a momentous period, a stage when the deepest transformations and swiftest progress are being made in our history. Allow me to restrict myself to one argument, which by the way is unusual. Soon, an exceptionally interesting book written in 1931 and entitled "Disproportions" will appear. It is written by a prewar premier, one of the creators of the Central Industrial District and one of the builders of Gdynia, in whose postwar reconstruction he also participated as a plenipotentiary of the people's government. His name is Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski. So if it has been decided to publish a book written by a person occupying a high office before the war, it is because this book is an important ideological argument in our favor. It is clear from this book that only a party of the workers class and only revolutionary transformations could guarantee Poland essential civilizational and economic transformations whose need the most eminent minds of the era gone by were aware of for a long time.

Comrades, we have made important decisions concerning cadre policy. We are beginning the formation of a system that suits the goals of the party and the interests of the socialist state the best way today. The success of this system will be determined by the practical way in which and the consistency with which we apply this system. This requires, as Comrade Antoszewska has rightly said, a determined elimination of the policy of "fighting for one's own interests" instead of "fighting for the best interests."

Correct, honest, and clear cadre policy is one of the fundamental ways to reestablish credibility for and social confidence in our party. It is one of the most important conditions for implementing our entire program.

Let me return to the beginning of my remarks. Why have millions of working people not left the ranks of the party, people such as Polish workers who rise at dawn and often have difficulty making ends meet, or people like the coalminers who risk their own lives, or people in so many other areas who are struggling not only with a shortage of materials but also with ignorance and boycotts? Why have thousands of comrades in regional cells, in the party apparatus, in the administration, people exposed to enemy fire and attacks from stupid persons everyday, not resigned their membership but continue as party members?

We see the kind of applause that greets renegades, former communists, and all those who have either determined it is time to sail in another direction or who have never had anything morally and politically in common with the party. The comrades present today could not doubt name many people who have shifted their support overnight in favor of those centers for whom the party is most dangerous and most difficult to overcome.

The party has experienced and survived a difficult trial. It has defended its main position. It has confirmed its right to lead the state and nation. But it would be more appropriate to say that every party member has been sitting at this examination individually. Invaluable to the party are all those who know how to combat normal human tiredness, weakness, insults, and gossip -- not only during the most difficult times but every day. After all, no one is free from these features.

Many words of criticism and bitterness have been spoken on this stand. We can afford to speak them! They do not signify our weakness but, on the contrary, they signify our returning strength and health. They confirm that we are following the correct course and they serve to remove the rocks from our path.

In a bright light one can better see how much the still existing negative phenomena contrast with the dedication and sacrifice that prevail in the party, attitudes that should be a source neither of self-satisfaction nor of self-punishment. As Comrade Makowska once rightly said, they should be a source neither of conceit nor humility.

The great ideological problems about which we have spoken during this plenum will become social reality and practice only if they are understood, accepted, and taken to heart by every party member, and only if they turn every party member into a defender, spokesman, and implementer of the general line that our worker-peasant Central Committee will confirm and develop at further sessions. How permanent this line will be will depend on how most members of the workers class become fully aware of their class position and their connections with the Marxist-Leninist workers party.

No doubt our plenum will meet with further signs of hostility from the adversary, especially from subversive propaganda. This is understandable. The 13th plenum is making our party, and therefore socialism in Poland, stronger. So it is difficult to expect the adversary to applaud this fact. The louder and the more aggressively they attack us, the more this will hurt them, the more disturbed they will become, and the more their further speculations and calculations will dissipate.

In particular, speculations concerning alleged splits and conflicts in our party have proved themselves ridiculous. A unity of goals of action and faith in the line of the ninth congress have found clear confirmation at this plenum. These are Leninist requirements and the obvious order of the day.

Conditions are still difficult and will be so for a long time; but the horizon is widening and the field of vision extending. During the Baildon steelworks meeting one speaker said in a picturesque way that the time has come for a "second breath in the work of socialist renewal." The Central Committee talks that are coming to an end have become a strong impulse in this very direction. At the same time they have provided valuable fodder for the party accountability-electoral campaign, as well as for the national celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

The ideological temperature and at the same time the businesslike nature of the 13th plenum permits one to believe that its resolutions will be implemented step by step, to the latter, and with all due care.

That is how it should be; that is how it must be.

Official Criticizes Church

AU241443 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 83 p 4

["Unauthorized report" on speech by Miroslaw Karwat, worker of the PZPR Central Committee Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, at the 15 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] Our attitude toward religion and the Church is an essential element of ideological problems. It is a paradox that the workers class also includes those who believe that the Church has always been with the working masses, that it has defended them against wrongs and social injustice, and that it now must defend the workers class against communism because otherwise this class will perish. I would like to say a few words on this subject.

It is a myth that the Church has always fought for justice. We know what role the Church played under the feudal system, but I am not sure whether every party member knows about this. Plebeian and peasant rebellions were directed against the Church because it was feudal. There are party members who subscribe to the view that under capitalism the Church had actually nothing to do with politics, that it busied itself with pastoral matters, and that it was apolitical. This was not true then and is not true now. At the time when the workers movement was being born the Church condemned it. This is proved by documents and is not a product of our propaganda. The Church condemned every opposition to the predominant social order, which it presented as natural. Not only in feudalism, but also in capitalism, for a long time power was said to have originated with God.

Three encyclicals issued at 40-year intervals show that the Church has undergone an evolution and is now a different Church. At first it only admitted the notion of private property. Today, at least insofar as our society is concerned, it proclaims that social property is something valuable because it serves the common good, but if we study documents more closely, we see that social property is something inferior and worse and that it actually is used to ensure that private property performs better. These documents show that social property is not good in itself.

Today the Church praises work and the people's right to work and to form trade unions and demands that these unions be given all possible rights. However, it still has not accepted the existence of the workers parties, especially in the case of socialist societies. The Church proclaims that it is allegedly the parties and not objective interests and contradictions that divide the people. If this is so then let us not be surprised at the events that took place after the war, which have already been forgotten by the generation that experienced them. As recently as 1949 the Catholics who joined the communist party or even the socialist party were threatened with excommunication. The popes were still giving moral support to the slogans of anticommunist crusades as recently as the mid-fifties. We should not acquiese to the Church presenting itself as a champion of the working people's good from the very beginning, assassinating our character, and offering us sackcloth.

In the seventies and probably earlier the platforms of state-Church relations was confused with the relations between the party and its ideology, on the one hand, and other ideologies, on the other. We have to give up propaganda myths. We must not bewilder our society, especially our workers class and party members, with the myth that the Church is apolitical. If the communiques issued by the Episcopate and bishop's statements concern the key economic and political issues and if every decision made by state bodies is commented on and evaluated, if some of them are given a blessing, which no doubt is a rare occurrence, if some are condemned, and if still others are appraised with moderation, then this is engaging in politics. And if so, we should make a consistent response.

We are obliged to exercise considerable tact in state-Church relations. We must not offend the feelings of believers. We must not undermine the dialogue with such forms of polemic that may damage that which is most valuable -- the good climate and attempts at mutual agreement. However, it is illusory to expect that if we hold back our propaganda attacks the other side will do the same. We know perfectly well that the other side does not and will not do this.

It is a very good thing that we propagate partnership with Catholic associations and that we have allies among them. If we cooperate with progressive Catholics, it does not mean that we have to stop responding to the reactionary streams of Catholicism -- which streams do exist.

The Society for Promotion of Lay Culture or some specialized party cells are not the only bodies that should wage an ideological struggle in this regard. Party members must simply find themselves wherever polemics take place and must refute the views directed against the party.

LOPATKA ON CHURCH 'CULTURE,' STATE RELATIONS

AU211515 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 83 p 2

[Statement made by Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, to a PAP correspondent: "The Role of Church Culture in the Country's Affairs"; date and place not given]

[Text] [PAP correspondent] You presented the opinion on the role of Church culture in Poland's cultural affairs at the government session devoted to cultural issues. Could you expand on these problems?

[Lopatka] Church culture, and more precisely, religious culture, was, is, and will remain an important part of Poland's national culture. This concerns architecture, painting, sculpture, music and song, literature, rites, and customs. The theological theme is also important in academic and scientific culture as religious ethics constitute part of the ethical sciences as a whole. The theme of the history of religion and religious institutions is and will also be a part of history. Nor is there a shortage of religious themes in secular culture.

One should quite openly state that there is a permanent place for religious culture in the national socialist culture that is developing in Poland. Religious culture includes not only the Catholic Church, but also other churches and religious associations that existed in the past and also exist today. But there is yet another side to the issue. There is a real danger that religious culture, especially Catholic culture, will exceed the limit and go beyond its proper place in the national culture. There has been a trend to put the entire national culture in line with Church culture in order to eliminate all progressive and revolutionary themes from the former. There is also an obvious desire to introduce cosmopolitan features in place of these themes, features that are clearly in opposition to internationalistic factors. These trends are aimed at separating Polish national culture from the socialist culture of other socialist countries, especially that of Poland's neighbors.

We have also been faced with the phenomenon of presenting the Church's political and legislative culture as the preferable model for the nation's political culture. There is a very obvious trend to combat the political culture that stems from the history of the workers' movement and its fight for democracy, equality, and social justice, from the history of the radical people's movement, and from the democratic and enlightened traditions of the Polish intelligentsia. Just as it would be a mistake to prohibit religious culture in the national culture, it would also be a mistake not to oppose trends to clericalise [klerkalizacja] national culture and its cosmopolitanization.

[PAP correspondent] Should we oppose these incorrect trends, and how should we do it?

[Lopatka] The fight against these trends should, above all, be lead by the artistic communities themselves. They should also be opposed by the patriotic and progressive units that are part of the very mainstream of religious culture. The representatives of this culture profess differing and even opposing attitudes. Communities of lay Catholics and Christians have an important role to play. They should, after all, be concerned that they create a religious culture that will not be alien to Poland's socialist national culture.

[PAP correspondent] Do the state authorities have a role to play in this?

[Lopatka] The state administration also has a specific task to perform in this area. The state as a patron should always bear these complex issues in mind.

MATERIALS ON CEAUSESCU'S VISIT TO CYPRUS

Presidents Begin Talks

AU242050 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Nicosia (AGERPRES) 24/10/1983 -- On October 24 official talks started in Nicosia between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Spiros Kiprianou.

Participating in the talks for Romania are Elena Ceausescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Iosif Banc, Stefan Andrei and the other officials accompanying the Romanian head of state, and for Cyprus are Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs; Yeoryios Andreou, minister of commerce and industry; Andreas Khristofidnis, spokesman for the government; Iakovos Aristidou [spelling as received] director general of the Planning Bureau, and other Cypriot officials.

During the talks the president of Romania and the president of Cyprus manifested full satisfaction at the results of the collaboration between the two countries in most varied domains of activity, and the conviction that the current summit dialogue, just as the one held in the summer of 1979, in Bucharest, would bring in most fruitful results.

In agreement, the sides considered that all conditions existed for development and deepening of the Romanian-Cypriot collaboration based on fully equal rights, mutual respect and advantage.

The president of Romania and Cyprus assigned the members of the two delegations participating in the talks the task to discuss and analyze further ways and means to turn material the summit understandings concerning the development of the Romanian-Cypriot collaboration in the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other domains of joint interest.

Next, the sides exchanged opinions at length on current issues of the international life.

Ceausescu Receives Award

AU242052 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Nicosia (AGERPRES) 24/10/1983 -- During a ceremony held at the Presidential Palace in Nicosia, Spiros Kiprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, handed over to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu the highest Cypriot distinction "The Grand Collar of the Makarios Order."

Addressing the distinguished messengers of the Romanian people, Spiros Kiprianou said:

It is a great joy to me and I think it is equally a great honour to have today the opportunity to hand over to you the greatest distinction of the Republic of Cyprus -- The Grand Collar of the Makarios Order, in token of valuation not only of your great contribution to the development of the relations between our two countries, not only for the understanding and backing of our efforts toward the durable and correct settlement of the Cypriot issue in harmony with the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations Nations, but also for the very important role you have been playing for years in international issues and for your essential contribution to all efforts for serving the cause of peace and security in the world.

Answering, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

I would like to thank you very much for this high order of the Republic of Cyprus. I consider that it is symbol of the collaboration and friendship between Romania and Cyprus.

True, Romania has firmly declared for the political, negotiated settlement of the issues in Cyprus, just as in fact of all international issues. We wish all the Cypriot people to live in a united, independent and non-aligned Cyprus. We consider that there is no more important problem to the Cypriots than the remaking of Cyprus' unity and its secured independence.

We wish the relations of collaboration between our countries to serve both peoples, the cause of peace and international collaboration.

The ceremony was attended by Romanian and Cypriot officials.

Cypriot Reportage

For Cypriot reportage on Romanian President Ceausescu's official visit to Cyprus, during which he is accompanied by his wife and various officials, and his talks with President Kiprianou and speeches, see the Cypriot section of the 25 October Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON OFFICIAL VISIT TO SUDAN

Meeting With Sudanese Ministers

AU241115 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Khartoum, AGERPRES 24/10/1983 -- Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, and Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, cochairman of the Joint Romanian-Sudanese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Collaboration, met again with Ibrahim Mun'im Mansur, member of the Political Bureau of the central leadership of the Sudanese Socialist Union, minister of finance and economic planning, and with other members of the Sudanese Government. During the talks, measures and actions were examined, in keeping with the understanding reached by President's Nicolae Ceausescu and Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, for the intensification of the Romanian-Sudanese collaboration and cooperation, and of economic relations as a whole.

Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei conducted talks with Muhammad Mirghani Mubarak, minister for foreign affairs of Sudan, on international issues of common concern.

Visit to Economic Units

AU241116 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0925 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Khartoum AGERPRES 23/10/1983 -- Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea and Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretary of the CC of the RCP, visited an important Sudanese unit, the textile mill "Dedid el Thawra" [spelling as received], near Khartoum, on October 23.

The vist occasioned a moving manifestation of friendship for Romania, for President Nicolae Ceausescu and for Elena Ceausescu who are visiting Sudan.

Expressing these feelings, the president of the corporation mentioned that the people working there, just as the whole Sudanese people welcome with particular satisfaction the talks between the party and state leaders of Romania and Sudan.

First deputy prime minister Gheorghe Oprea thanks for these manifestations of friendship addressed to Romania and her president and, in behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Elena Ceausescu, and of the Romanian people he addressed a warm salute and the best wishes to the collective of the mill.

Ceausescu Attends Gala Show

AU241114 Bucharest AGERPRES in **English** 0910 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Khartoum, AGERPRES 25/10/1983 -- On Sunday evening, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, together with the president of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, Ja'far Muhammad Numayria, and Mme Buthayna Numayri attended a gala show given by a Sudanese folk ensemble in honor of the messengers of the Romanian people.

Also present were the officials accompanying President Nicolae Ceausescu on his current visit, as well as Sudanese officials. President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu warmly congratulated the artists on their wonderful performance.

Ceausescu at Document Signing

AU241807 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1722 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Report on speech by President Nicolae Ceausecu at the 24 October signing of Romanian-Sudanese documents in Khartoum]

[Text] Khartoum, AGERPRES 14/10/1983 -- The signing, this morning of the documents that provide new prospects to the development of the multilateral collaboration between Romania and Sudan, as well as the joint stances expressed as concerns the complex problems of the international life represent an important event in the Romanian-Sudanese relations and will mark an outstanding moment for the strengthening of the collaboration between our peoples. I thank you for the hospitality and friendship we have enjoyed in your country.

We are firmly convinced that our peoples will develop further a wide collaboration and strengthen their cooperation on an international plane for detente, disarmament, for finding negotiated solutions to the litigious issues and in the struggle for collaboration and peace throughout the world.

I wish you all and I wish the friendly Sudanese people ever greater success in the economic and social development of the homeland. I wish you personally new successes, and in the context I invite you and Mme Numaryi to visit our country as soon as possible.

ENACHE MEETS WITH BENIN PARTY DELEGATION

AU241501 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] On 20 OCT Comrade Petru Enache, a candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, met with a delegation of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party [BPRP] led by Cepo Chichi Gratinen [spelling as published], member of the Political Bureau of the BPRP Central Committee, which is visiting our country at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee.

On this occasion, the guests extended a message of warm greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with best wishes for good health on behalf of Mathieu Kerekou, chairman of the BPRP Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of Benin.

Expressing thanks for the message, Comrade Petru Enache asked the guest to convey warm greetings and best wishes for good health to President Mathieu Kerekou on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides examined the stage of implementation of decisions adopted during summit meetings and expressed their determination to develop and deepen relations of cooperation and friendship between the Romanian and Benin parties and countries to their benefit and that of the cause of peace and international understanding. At the same time, they informed each other about the current main concerns of the two parties and exchanged views on certain current international issues. Paul Kpoffon, ambassador of the People's Republic of Benin to Bucharest, was also present.

During its stay in Romania, the BPRP delegation conducted talks at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Council for Socialist Education and Culture, and the Arges County RCP Committee, and visited some economic units, sociocultural establishments, and tourist attractions in Bucharest, Arges, and Brasov Counties.

CONSTANTIN ADDRESSES WFTU IN DAMASCUS

AU241855 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Damascus (AGERPRES) 24/10/1983 -- In Damascus, during the proceedings of the 30th Session of the Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Romanian chief delegate, Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the GTUCR [General Trade Union Confederation of Romania] Council, set forth Romania's stance on a peaceful settlement of all disputes in the international life, the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, and the building of a Europe of peace. Emphasis was placed on the great demonstrations for peace and disarmament taking place in Romania.

The speakers also stressed President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives for a global political solution of the conflict in the Middle East, for the instatement of a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

CEAUSESCU IN DUTCH DAILY ON MISSILES, MIDEAST

AU241221 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the Netherlands journalist Jaap den Boef, special envoy of daily TROUW, on 14 October to whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Mr President, you are very well known in my country for the initiatives promoted by you for several years in connection with disarmament, peace, and security. At this point when negotiations in Geneva regarding the medium-range missiles in Europe have not yielded any positive results, what compromise solutions can be found to overcome the deadlock of those negotiations?

Answer: As is known, the international situation is characterized by very serious tension. The arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race has intensified, a fact that has considerably increased the danger of a nuclear war that could destroy our civilization and the existence of life itself on our planet.

Proceeding from this situation, Romania has acted and continues to act with great determination to halt the arms race and to proceed to disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament. We attach special importance to European issues considering that huge stockpiles of weapons and particularly nuclear weapons are concentrated on our continent. In this context, we believe that we must all do all we can to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and generally any nuclear weapons and to proceed to withdrawing and destroying the ones in place.

At this point negotiations are taking place in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States in connection with medium-range missiles. Interesting proposals have been formulated by both sides but no agreement has been reached thus far. However, we believe that the proposals that have been made offer the possibility of an agreement acceptable to both sides and especially to Europe, which does not need new medium-range missiles nor any other kind of nuclear weapons.

It is indeed necessary to reach a compromise solution acceptable to both sides so as to preserve a balance of forces; however, this should not be done on the basis of new weapons, but by cutting back existing ones to the lowest level.

Question: Mr President, after meeting with you Vice Chancellor Genscher promoted the idea that if no agreement is reached in Geneva, you make a suggestion in this respect. What did he refer to?

Answer: In the letters I sent to the Soviet Union and the United States and to other countries I made certain suggestions in this respect. Undoubtedly, there are many possibilities and we believe that the means of achieving an acceptable compromise between the two sides have not yet been exhausted.

Question: Your Excellency, the letters addressed by you to the United States and the Soviet Union to continue the Geneva negotiations also after the date established for the deployment of the 'Pershing II' and 'cruise' missiles in certain Western countries -- a period in which no new medium-range nuclear missiles should be deployed -- are realistic and wise. Do you believe, however, that given the important disagreements between the two big powers -- the United States and the Soviet Union -- regarding the number of Soviet missiles already existing in Europe and the number of nuclear warheads, an acceptable solution for all sides can be achieved?

Answer: In the letters addressed to the Soviet Union and the United States, Romania proposed that action should be taken by both countries so that an agreement be reached on the nondeployment of new missiles and on withdrawing and destroying the ones in place. Taking into account the short timespan up to the end of the year when NATO plans to deploy the new U.S. missiles in Europe, I proposed that negotiations should not be halted by that time, but continued until an agreement is reached, in the belief that it is possible to achieve an acceptable agreement within a reasonable timespan.

Thus, to permit the continuation of negotiations, I proposed that the United States should not deploy the medium-range missiles in Europe for the duration of the negotiations. At the same time, the Soviet Union should assume the obligation to not deploy new missiles and to even proceed to cutting back and destroying a certain number of existing missiles. Thus one would enable the negotiations to continue and would ensure an agreement on the nondeployment, on destroying existing ones, and on achieving a balance at the lowest level -- as in fact both the Soviet Union and the United States have proposed.

Taking into consideration the fact that both countries -- possessors of nuclear weapons -- admit that nuclear weapons represent a serious danger to the existence of mankind, that both sides advocate, in one form or another, a halt to the nuclear arms race and proceeding to cutting them back, we believe that it is possible and it is necessary to achieve an agreement in order to proceed to achieving that goal.

Question: Mr President, you have proposed that the nondeployment of the U.S. 'Pershing II' and 'cruise' missiles should be followed by the withdrawal and destruction of existing missiles in Europe. Does this proposal pertain to the Soviet missiles, as well as to those in French and British arsenals?

Answer: It is indeed necessary to reach an agreement on the nondeployment of U.S. missiles and on proceeding to withdrawing and destroying the ones in place. Certainly, when I refer to the withdrawal and destruction of existing missiles, I refer primarily to the missiles of the Soviet Union; however, to achieve a balance of forces it is necessary to take into consideration also the missiles possessed by France and Britain.

Within the framework of a compromise an agreement could be reached on taking into consideration the French and British missiles in the general balance of forces of strategic and medium-range weapons. In any case, in order to achieve tangible measures for nondeployment and the reduction of nuclear weapons, in one form or another and at a certain stage -- the first or the second stage -- one should also take into consideration the French and British missiles and all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

Question: Your Excellency, you have repeatedly proposed that the disarmament problems on the European continent should not be discussed only by a limited number of states, but that all European countries should participate in the negotiations. How do you view the implementation of such a proposal? What role could the United Nations play in this respect?

Answer: New weapons pose a great danger for all European countries and for all countries in the world. It is therefore necessary for all states and all peoples to actively participate in halting the arms race and in achieving disarmament measures. We must, of course, always bear in mind that such measures should be initiated by the big powers -- the Soviet Union and the United States -- but that they should not be limited only to those states. In point of fact, there is the Geneva disarmament conference which is being attended by all states and it was recently established in Madrid -- along with the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- to convene a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe scheduled to take place at the beginning of next year.

In connection with problems in Europe and especially regarding a halt to the deployment of medium-range missiles, the socialist countries have proposed that a direct meeting should be organized between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. One could thus speak about a special meeting of European countries or at least of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, with the aim of acting together and of contributing to the achievement of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Undoubtedly, the United Nations could play an important role in organizing such a meeting and especially in determining the Geneva disarmament committee to overcome the stage of discussions and proceed to formulating tangible measures for disarmament.

Question: Mr President, your concerns in connection with the Middle East situation are also very well known in the Netherlands. In your view, how can a solution be reached that will restore Lebanon's independence and that will also bring about an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians?

Answer: Romania has always advocated and acted toward a solution to the Middle East problems by political negotiations. Life and events have demonstrated that there is no other road than that of negotiations in order to achieve a comprehensive solution and a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This requires Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, a solution to the Palestinian problem on the basis of their right to self-determination and to an independent Palestinian state, and, at the same time, the achievement of goodneighborly relations, and a guarantee of the integrity and sovereignty of each Middle East state. We have repeatedly said that there is room for both Israel and a Palestinian state to coexist, together, certainly, with the other Arab countries in the Middle East.

A very serious situation has been created in Lebanon as a result of the very existence of the conflict and especially the aggressive military actions by Israel in Lebanon, but also as a result of certain differences and fighting between the various forces in Lebanon. We believe that everything should be done to ensure Lebanon's independence and sovereignty. In this respect it is of great importance to strengthen the cease-fire agreement and to hold a national reconciliation congress. Proceeding from the fact that at this point there is no more important problem in Lebanon than that of strengthening the cease-fire, achieving national reconciliation, and ensuring the independence and sovereignty of that country -- all Lebanese, irrespective of their political, philosophical or religious beliefs, should do all they can to ensure peace at home, Lebanon's independence and sovereignty, and that their problems be solved by themselves. At the same time, it is necessary to act to achieve the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, an appropriate agreement with the other countries, including with the PLO, in connection with ensuring Lebanon's independence and integrity.

As for the Middle East problems in general, we believe that in order to resolve these problems, it is necessary to organize an international conference under UN aegis with the participation of the PLO. As a matter of fact, both in Geneva and at the United Nations, the Palestinian representatives themselves have insisted on and have favored the organization of such a conference and the formation of an Arab delegation, including Palestinian representatives, to participate in that conference. In my view, this would open the road to preparing and organizing an international conference aimed at a comprehensive solution in the spirit I mentioned before.

Question: Your excellency, the world is troubled by serious conflicts of a regional nature. Many people fear the possibility of a new world war that will begin in Europe. Do you believe that there are situations in other parts of the world that could become more dangerous for global peace than those in Europe?

Answer: There are many complicated problems in the international arena; there are a number of conflicts each of which constitutes, in one way or another, a serious danger to peace. Apart from these problems one should also mention the economic ones, the wide gaps between rich and poor countries which also represent a problem of particular importance for ensuring peace and stability in the world.

Were we only to refer to aspects of a military nature and of the balance of military forces, one can state that Europe stockpiles the most powerful weapons, and thereby the main danger for a world war continues to remain in Europe. Hence the need to do everything to proceed to disarmament meausres and primarily nuclear disarmament measures, this being a requirement not only for Europe but for the entire world.

Undeoubtedly, one should also pay attention to resolving the conflicts in other parts of the world. As I have already mentioned, it is necessary to resolve the Middle East problems, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, and the Central American problems by political means. At the same time, the Namibian problem must be resolved by achieving the Namibian people's independence, because all these problems influence, in one form or another, international peace.

However, proceeding from the balance of forces and objectively seen, the main danger for a new world war continues to emmanate from Europe. Therefore, in acting to resolve existing conflicts by negotiations, we must do all we can to achieve disarmament measures, to implement the Helsinki documents, the Madrid documents, and to ensure the successful progress of the conference on trust and disarmament in Europe.

Question: Mr President, recently a Netherlands delegation visited Romania to discuss the current situation and prospects for contacts and relations between the two countries. On 24 October this year Romania's prime minister will begin an official visit to the Netherlands. What do you think of the current stage of Romanian-Netherlands relations and how do you view the development of those relations in the future? What are the possibilities for expanding trade and economic cooperation between the two countries?

Answer: I would like to mention with great satisfaction the positive relations between Romania and the Netherlands. In the course of the years we also achieved a forceful development of economic exchanges and certain production sharing ventures. It is true that in the past 2 years there has been a certain decrease in the volume of economic exchange, which I, however, view as temporary, determined by the influence of the world economic crisis. However, I can now state that conditions already exist to overcome that situation and to continue to forcefully develop economic exchanges and production sharing.

The Netherlands delegation's visit to Romania, as well as the visit Romania's prime minister will pay to the Netherlands will both contribute to finding new possibilities for overcoming the difficulties that have arisen in order to continue to develop economic exchanges and production sharing between Romania and the Netherlands. We want to do all we can in this direction, and I am convinced that together our countries will be able to achieve a positive economic cooperation. At the same time, I would like to mention the development of cooperation in such fields as science, education, and culture and the exchange of representatives of our countries at various levels and between citizens from Romania and the Netherlands.

At the same time, I would like to stress that our countries are actively cooperating in the international arena. In this respect I would like to mention the positive cooperation between representatives of our countries at the Madrid meeting. I hope that we will continue to actively cooperate at the conference on trust and disarmament scheduled to begin next year, so that, along with developing bilateral relations at various levels, we will act together with other countries toward a policy of peace, national independence, and each people's socioeconomic progress.

Question: We all remember your visit to the Netherlands and the visit Queen Juliana paid to Romaina. Mr President, would you please tell us if you foresee a new visit to the Netherlands?

Answer: Indeed, both visits have contributed to developing our relations. We hope to continue those visits -- both my visit to the Netherlands and the visit by the Queen of tne Netherlands to Romania. Within the framework of our cooperation these visits play an important role and they must continue.

In conclusion, I would like to extend, through your newspaper, a friendly message to the Netherlands people, together with best wishes for progress, prosperity, and peace.

BUCHAREST FESTIVE MEETING MARKS ARMY DAY

AU241926 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/10/1983 -- A festive meeting was held in Bucharest on the Romanian Army Day.

Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, Secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, Secretary of the CC of the RCP, Colonel General Constatin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, and other officials attended.

Military attaches accredited in Romania attended too.

The national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played at the beginning of the festivity.

Colonel General Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defence, chief of staff, spoke about the significance of the celebrated event and stressed that the Army backed the RCP and Romanian state's policy of peace and collaboration with all the peoples of the world. He also emphasized that, on the basis of the principles of the world. [As received] He also emphasized that, on the Romanian Party and state's foreign policy, the Army deepens and develops its relations of friendship and collaboration with the armies of the socialist states, amplifies its contacts with the armies of other states.

30,000 ASSEMBLE IN BUCHAREST FOR PEACE

AU242117 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/10/1983 -- Ample manifestions for peace are further organized in Romania, at the level of municipalities and districts of the capital city. On October 24 some 30,000 Bucharesters met in front of the People's Council of the First District and expressed their will to live, alongside the entire Romanian people, in peace and good understanding.

The participants endorsed the text of a telegram addressed to President Nicolae Ceausecu, stating their adhesion to the domestic and foreign policy of the RCP and Romanian state, to the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] call for peace and disarmament.

Those attending also endorsed a message to be addressed to the UN and letters for the USSR and USA Bucharest Embassies and the Bucharest embassies of all the European states, asking them that consistent efforts be made for halting the dangerous course of arming and for safeguarding peace.

SUNDIC ON AFTERMATH OF BEIRUT EXPLOSIONS

LD241945 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] What messages and lessons can be drawn from the Beirut massacre? Our commentator Milika Sundic considers that no response by the United States or France that is based on revenge against any country would lead to a way out of the crisis in which Lebanon and the entire Near East area finds itself:

[Sundic] However tragic and, in the final analysis, incomprehensible it may be, the explosion in Beirut could have much graver consequences unless the right long-term lessons are drawn from what has happened and what could yet happen. An as yet unknown organization, the Independent Islamic Revolutionary Movement, has claimed that it organized the massacre, which corroborates Weinberger's assessment that Iran is behind all this. It would be very risky, however, to accept the U.S. defense secretary's (?aforementioned) assessment as the ultimate truth, or to view revenge, against any country, as a solution to the Lebanese impasse.

The explosion in Beirut will certainly not unite the divided Lebanese, nor will it strengthen the foreign presence in that country. It is known, however, that there are many who oppose national reconciliation in Lebanon, or who do everything possible to ensure tht others decide the fate of Lebanon. The causes of the present state of affairs in Lebanon are much deeper, and the presence of a foreign factor is the worst of all possible ways to obtain a just solution to the Lebanese crisis.

Reagan's first statement suggests that the culprits will be harshly punished, while he evidently means not those who committed the deed, but whoever might be behind them. Reagan also indicated that the U.S. Marines will remain in Lebanon as long as the United States considers it necessary.

The Beirut tragedy appears to have consolidated the U.S. President's conviction that nothing should be changed in the approach to the Lebanese or Near East crisis, even if the overall development of the situation in that part of the world, and in Lebanon itself, calls for a different form of conduct.

If the Israeli adventure in Lebanon had been blocked in time, instead of justification being sought and found for it, the situation in that country would today be quite different. The dispatch of the peace forces has achieved nothing, for their role boiled down exclusively to protecting the interests of the West in Lebanon, and permitting Israel to acquire the right of defender of the peace in Lebanon, while at the same time bypassing the United Nations. Nobody with any common sense would dare seek the solution to the Lebanese and Near East crisis in such actions. But at the same time it would not be a good thing to continue to avoid the essence of the Near East problem, namely, the just solution of the Palestine issue.

It is a fortunate circumstance that nobody has accused the PLO of the massacre in Beirut; the PLO is certainly not responsible for this massacre. It would, however, be a great injustice if the Palestinians are continually ignored in the search for a way out of the Near East impasse.

Those responsible for the Beirut massacre, whoever they are, belong to the very group that advocates the extermination of the Arab people of Palestine, and opposes a free and independent Lebanon and peace in the Near East. The United States would be committing an error if the conclusion it draws from the Beirut tragedy accords with the secret hope of the very people who deliberately resorted to that violent act.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PLANINC VISIT TO GREECE

Planinc Meets Karamanlis

LD242002 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Athens, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- Greek President Konstandinos Karamanlis today received Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, who is on an official and friendly visit to Greece. The meeting passed in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere, and the conversation referred to the development and promotion of cooperation and economic development between the two neighboring countries. Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc briefed the Greek head of state on the program of long-term economic stabilization in Yugoslavia, while President Karamanlis acquainted the high-ranking guest from Yugoslavia with current economic development in Greece.

During the talks both sides expressed their concern with the deteriorated situation in the world, the spreading tension in all areas of international life and the deep-seated crisis that has encompassed the systems of international political and economic relations. In this context President Karamanlis and Premier Milka Planinc highlighted the danger inherent in the unbridled arms race and the need to make maximum efforts in renewing the process of political detente and in consolidating international understanding and confidence.

During the meeting at the residence of the president of the Greek Republic, the Greek initiative regarding the denuclearization of the Balkans was also discussed. As is known Yugoslavia endorsed this initiative and expressed its readiness to take part in the proposed meetings. Both sides stressed the importance of the development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans on the principles of good-neighborly relations, the solution of joint questions and the consolidation of security in this part of the world.

Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, was also present during the talks with President Karamanlis.

Talks With Hosts End

LD242012 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Athens, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav-Greek talks ended in Athens today. As stressed by members of both delegations, the talks took place in an atmosphere full of reciprocal respect, sincerity and openness. During the exchange of views today, which on the whole was devoted to enriching the content of bilateral economic cooperation, both sides again confirmed the long-term orientation of the two countries to strengthen and advance good-neighborly relations. The Yugoslav delegation, it is understood, has put forward a number of specific proposals -- to abolish visas, to open new border crossings, to establish regular bus routes and to expand cooperation in all areas, including border cooperation. The Yugoslav delegation presented to the Greek side an appropriate aide-memoire that incorporates these proposals and the Yugoslav stance on the solution of the open questions pertaining to the current cooperation.

Today talks continued on virtually all the topics referred to during yesterday's meeting between the two delegations. All aspects of the further development of economic relations were again discussed. In this context the Yugoslav side stressed particularly the importance of cooperation in border areas and of a faster and more comprehensive development of this cooperation. It also stressed the importance of developing good-neighborly and overall relations between Greece and Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav delegation believes that the content of Yugoslav-Greek economic relations can be enriched primarily through the development of industrial cooperation, joint investments, mixed enterprises and other higher forms of economic cooperation. The Yugoslav economy is interested in securing long-term arrangements in these areas and in expanding the current modest range of export and import products within international trade, which, as both sides maintain, lags behind the opportunities and needs of both Greece and Yugoslavia. The first 5-year plan of the socialist government offers broad possibilities and favorable prospects in this regard.

Trade between Yugoslavia and Greece has for years been reduced to an exchange of quite a modest number of products, although there is a surfeit of products from all the parts of the world on the Greek market. Greece imports 70 percent of the total volume of commodities at the disposal of its trade network. The two neighboring countries can promote reciprocal trade and increase the value of the overall commodity exchange primarily by expanding the range of goods.

The path toward the implementation of this objective was opened during the bidding for public tenders invited by Greece last year when Yugoslav economic organizations clinched business to teh value of about $20 million. These contracts will generally be completed in the course of the current year. Yugoslav enterprises secured contracts for the export of high voltage transformers, bulldozers, chemical products, and for specifid work in the construction of silos. During the bidding for public tenders, now underway, our enterprises have a good chance of clinghing new business in Greece. The offers made by Yugoslav economic organizations relate to turbines and equipment for a Greek hydroelectric power plan under construction, participation in the electrification of the rail network and in the construction of the slaughter industry and animal fodder factories.

Milka Planinc, president of the federal executive council, is understood to have invited prime minister Andreas Papandreou to visit Yugoslavia, and the invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Prime Minister Papandreou and his wife gave a private lunch for Yugoslav premier Milka Planinc at his family home in Kastri. The lunch, it is understood, was also used for an exchange of views on questions of interest to the two neighboring countries. Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and Greek Foreign Minister Yoannis Kharalambopoulos were also at the lunch meeting.

SUNDIC ON PLO, SYRIA, SUPERPOWER RELATIONS

AU211158 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] The conflict between the Fatah and Syria has assumed such proportions that it excludes, at least at present, all possibilities for reconciliation. Reagan's charges against Syria (?coincide with) 'Arafat's letter to Yuriy Andropov. It is still uncertain what Moscow's reply to the appeal by the leader of the Palestinian revolution will be. The following is a commentary by Milika Sundic.

Reagan's statement at his press conference that the Damascus government was striving with the assistance of the Soviet Union to create a greater Syria, which, as the U.S. President said, the United States will not allow, does not indicate anything new in the approach of the chief of the White House to the Middle East crisis. What is involved in this connection is primarily yet another American reaction to the development of the situation in Lebanon and the first unsuccessful attempt at a national reconciliation in that country. Reagan's charges against Syria perhaps would not even deserve such attention if they did not coincide with a new deterioration of relations between Yasir 'Arafat'. followers and Syria.

Two days ago, Damascus accused the leader of the Palestinian revolution of being a traitor and Washington's agent; the Fatah Central Committee accused dissidents in the PLO and charged Syria with attempting to establish its complete control over the PLO.

In his conflict with Syria, Yasir 'Arafat, too, is seeking a Moscow connection with his direct appeal to Yuriy Andropov and the Soviet leadership to recognize the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The announcement issued at the session of the Fatah Central Committee and 'Arafat's letter at the session of the Fatah Central Committee and 'Arafat's letter to Yuriy Andropov lead to the conclusion that Fatah is facing its greatest problem since its inception and that the Damascus government has finally and definitely decided to throw its political, diplomatic, andmilitary support behind the dissident movement in the PLO against Yasir 'Arafat and his followers. As chance would have it, Reagan's charges against Syria are in many respects identical to Fatah's accusations, the difference consisting in the fact that in all of its Middle East combinations the United States is bypassing and ignoring the existence of the PLO, whereas Syria recognizes and supports only that stream in the PLO that follows its policy in accordance with Damascus' known position of a few months ago that Palestine is Southern Syria. But this difference between the views Damascus has been advocating for several months, that is, since the time when Yasir 'Arafat was expelled from the Syrian capital, and the views stated by President Reagan in his charges against Syria is virtually negligible because both the views of Washington and those of Damascus can be dangerous for the Palestinian revolution as a whole.

Moscow has continuously tried to retain and has largely succeeded in retaining a neutral position in the conflict between Syria and Fatah. It is difficult to say whether it will be able to continue to do so in the future, that is, after 'Arafat's letter to Andropov. In any event, Moscow will not find it easy to take a final and clear stand. However, if it is compelled to do so, then all available evidence points to the conclusion that Damascus' views would have priority. The consequences that could result from this would not be small, because in that event the relations between the two superpowers would even further deteriorate, which ultimately would not be good even for Syria, and even less for the PLO, since the PLO is quite certain that it is the United States and Israel that would most benefit from the conflict between Damascus and Fatah, just as has been the case in all past and present discords among the Arabs.

PLANINC MESSAGE TO KUWAITI LEADER DELIVERED

LD241636 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1350 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Kuwait, Oct. 24. (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc has sent a message to Kuwaiti Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-Abdallah as-Sabah. The message was presented to the Kuwaiti Prime Minister by Yugoslav Secretary of Finance Joze Florjancic, who was received, together with governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Radovan Makic, by Shaykh sa'd al-'Abdallah as-Sabah.

The message regards prospects of Yugoslavia's economic development and efforts for stabilization in 1984 and in the years to come.

Florjancic informed the Kuwaiti minister on results of the long-term programme for economic stabilization in Yugoslavia. Kuwait's active and positive role in economic-financial support to Yugoslavia was emphasized in that context.

The Kuwaiti prime minister accepted with satisfaction Milka Planinc's invitation to visit Yugoslavia.

DOBRIVOJE VIDIC ARMS RACE SPEECH REPORTED

LD242124 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- A meeting organized by the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, and devoted to the problems of the arms race and disarmament, began in Belgrade this morning.

The introductory speech was submitted by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Having pointed out that the eighth session of the LCY Central Committee had discussed the international situation, the trends in the workers' and other progressive movements in the world, and the international position of the SFRY, Dobrivoje Vidic said:

"The assessments which were made at that time about the grave international situation, which is worsening, are, unfortunately, correct. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in particular have become worse. Fresh threats to peace have arisen in Central America. Wars and conflicts in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa continue. Interbloc relations in Eruope bear all the features of yet another critical phase. Negotiations in Geneva between the United States and the USSR are not yielding any results. Judging by everything, the installation of Pershing and cruise missiles is imminent. Political and military headquarters are exceptionally active in this context. The question posed is: Can some kind of agreement nevertheless be reached 'in the last minute'; who will do what after the installation of Pershings; and so on.

Vidic went on to say that the results of the CSCE session in Madrid show that is possible to achieve a certain measure of peace by useful agreements. The CSCE decisions reached in Madrid direct the participating countries along the road of a greater number of international conferences. If they are implemented with the necessary political will to find expected solutions, one could say that in such a case the prospects to achieve a series of international agreements favorably influencing the conditions for peaceful life and cooperation among European and other nations will unfold. True enough, there are already vociferous deliberations about whether it is appropriate, under present circumstances, to organize the Stockholm conference on disarmament in Eruope, or whether one should wait for a more favorable time. Some believe that before then the decision on the installation of Pershings and cruise missiles will become operative. Since this will worsen even more the climate of relations between blocs and bloc centers, it is therefore difficult to see what the Stockholm conference could contribute to the actual solving of the problem of disarmament in Europe. However, all the countries, the participants in the disarmament conference in Stockholm, are actively preparing for the January meeting. Certainly, one should go to Stockholm and do everything possible to correctly examine the depth of the crisis in the area of military-political blocs (? states), and to offer a number of interim solutions and real measures contributing to the building of trust and to the revival of general European detente, with the aim of preparing agreements that would lead to real disarmament in Europe.

The Seventh Summit of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi clearly determined the directions for action by nonaligned countries under the present international conditions, Vidic continued. The main effort is directed at trying to influence the superpowers to accept the need for a policy of detente and for the world as a whole to return to international negotiations on all crises and controversial issues as the only correct method for preserving and consolidating peace. The proposal by Indira Gandhi, the president of the Nonaligned Movement, that heads of state and government from the greatest possible number of countries assemble at this year's session of the UN General Assembly in New York made this necessary task for today execptionally topical.

Some are voicing disappointment about the small number of heads of state and government present at this gathering. This is not essential. The gathering was, in any case, representative. By the contents of its recommendations, it was also extremely important because it poignantly reflected the degree of alarm among the peoples of the world due to the negative trends in international relations.

The participation of these heads of state and government in the general debate at this year's session of the UN General Assembly represents a significant event in the life of this organization and is bound to leave deep traces on the decisions and recommendations to be adopted this year.

If we consider the general debate as a representative review of the views on the present international conditions and as a review of the assessments, demands and recommendations in relation with the UN's current tasks, whose characteristics we know, then this debate fully confirmed the correctness of the basic political philosphy of the countries of the Nonaligned Movement and the appropriate nature of the concrete proposals made at the seventh nonaligned summit. The main question is, of course, whether these appeals and recommendations will be properly heeded, particularly in the bloc centers, and whether these appeals and recommendations in turn will realistically influence the mobilization of the political and moral responsibilities of the great powers and blocs toward preventing a further deterioration in international relations or, at least, toward halting the arms race.

As an international task the problem of disarmament was presented in a most dramatic way by all the participants at this session of the UN General Assembly, irrespective of the position taken by individual countries in relation to the modalities of implementation, said Vidic to the participants in the meeting. There is consensus, at least a verbal consensus, on the fact that a substantial reduction in the nuclear arsenal is necessary along the road toward its possible complete liquidation, although practical measures, particularly those by the biggest countries, at the moment do not move in that direction. This is why the Nonaligned Movement places the main responsibility for the accelerated arms race on the great powers. Of course, we are demanding substantial results in the negotiations between the United States and the USSR and generally in the negotiations pursued under the UN aegis. It should be noted that during this session the nonaligned countries also stressed the need to adopt appropriate measures to prevent a nuclear war. They stressed the need for an agreement on an all-embracing ban on nuclear arms tests, on a ban against chemical weapons and on preventing an arms race in outer space. Soviet initiatives regarding the condemnation of nuclear wars and on freezing nuclear armaments will be discussed.

For decades men of common sense involved in international affairs have been pointing out the appropriate relationship between the armament costs and the need for financial resources to aid developing countries, and not just the developing countries alone. Stressing that the world as a whole, and each one of us separately as a country, is feeling increasingly threatened by the failure to solve the problems around the need for disarmament, Vidic said that even those who have Pershing and cruise missiles, or those who have SS-20's are not themselves secure by virtue of the fact that they have these missiles. Nor is life secure for anyone living between their missiles. It is not accidental, therefore, that the countries that do not possess nuclear weapons long for international agreements establishing internationally recognized non-nuclear zones. In the final analysis, however, the only real solution is that of total nuclear disarmament and general disarmament as a whole. This is why we endorse the justified quest for ways and means whereby one can attain at least one nuclear-free zone in our area.

This is why, so far as a political decision is concerned, we are getting ready to participate actively in the forthcoming meeting of experts in Athens with a view to preparing an appropriate Balkan countries summit meeting. Periodically, one can come across comments in the world press that Yugoslavia "is not enthusiastic" about this idea and that it gives priority to broader disarmament agreements. I do not think this is correct. As a nonaligned country without nuclear weapons, positioned between the two military-political blocs equipped with these weapons, and as a socialist country inspired by the noblest ideals of creating a world of peace without weapons that could be used against other peoples, we are in favor of any international agreement that could lead to that objective. Accordingly, we are in favor of such agreements with our immediate neighbors. This is why we can stress the views by well-informed people that every citizen is not only a target but also an actor in the ominous drama being played before us. It is not enough merely to hate the bomb or the enemy or both. We must most profoundly comprehend the dilemmas imposed by the nuclear age, especially by nuclear weapons, on all the peoples and on all the citizens of the world, concluded Dobrivoje Violic.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES SECURITY SITUATION

AU242232 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Olivija Rusovac report]

[Text] The Committee for Internal Affairs of the SFRY Assembly Federal Assembly heard a report on the security situation in the country submitted by Mirko Bunevski, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs. The internal affairs organs are successfully resisting increased activity of the foreign and domestic enemies. In this struggle, it was stressed in the Committee for Internal Affairs, the role of social self-protection is irreplaceable. Olivija Rusovac reports:

The security situation in the country is made particularly delicate by the unfavorable economic situation. This situation has provoked an increased and broad interest of foreign intelligence services, as well as a greater activity of foreign and domestic enemies. Although the state and public security services have been prepared to carry out tasks under even more difficult conditions than the present ones, our system of social self-protection in many ways rests on subjective forces, whose engagement, as Mirko Bunevski assessed, is not in accordance with the seriousness of circumstances.

What is expected from social self-protection is greater work on ending negative phenomena, such as economic and traditional crime, which in the 6 months of this year increased nearly 29 percent compared with the same period last year. A greater number of fires was also noted, as much as 90 percent more, and the damage caused by them is three times that of last year. These fires are attributed almost completely to negligence and carelessness. However, no one is called to task for such a deed, and this means that from this point of view it is necessary to reexamine the legal and punitive policy.

The situation in Kosovo to which the attention of foreign intelligence services, political emigrees, and domestic enemies is directed to a considerable degree has been improved to such an extent that there are no large public excesses. During 9 months, 7 illegal groups of Albanian irredenta were dispersed, 130 of their members were arrested, and the activity of 3 groups was averted while the group was still being formed. Some 1,300 slogans were written and 700 pamphlets distributed. This is half that of last year. What causes concern, however, is the fact that the irredenta is recruiting new forces. This can be seen from the fact that among 460 of those who wrote slogans, 300 were new people.

The pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate has assumed new, indirect, and more subtle forms and, unless the rate of emigration is reduced, the question could arise as to whether the irredentists are not achieving their goals in a relatively easy manner.

At this moment, Mirko Bunevski, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, assessed at the session of the assembly committee, that the bureaucratic-centralist and dogmatic phenomena are the most dangerous. However, one should also not underestimate the anarcho-liberals, although their activity is noted almost exclusively in the intellectual circle.

Stressing the importance of unity in assessments on the sensitive problems of security, particularly when the situation in Kosovo in involved, delegates concluded that certain fields of security, such as, among other things, work of numerous institutions of self-protection and the state in this field, deserve to be discussed more widely.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE ENDORSES DRAFT RESOLUTION

LD242013 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Committee for National Defense of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly today endorsed the stipulations implicit in the draft resolution for 1984 referring to national defense, and stressed that there should be no delays in passing accompanying measures and laws and that appropriate material resources and other conditions in keeping with agreed policy must be ensured to increase the defense capability of our country.

Colonel General Dane Petrovski, deputy federal secretary of National defense, said in this connection that emphasis must still be on modernization and development tasks that must directly strengthen the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] combat capability. This refers particularly to securing modern weapons and military equipment, research work in the area of military technology, modernization of the material base of our armed forces, and raising the efficiency of training and education. To fulfill these undoubtedly important tasks, the JNA must be given appropriate resources, as provided by legislation. The lower limit of the resources to be set aside, Petrovski believes, should not be lower than 5.2 percent of our national income. If this budget norm were to be deviated from, further modernization of the JNA would be jeopardized.

Delegate Dusan Pekic drew attention to three essential factors on which the efficiency of national defense will depend a great deal. In order to implement the objective contained in the draft resolution for next year, work on the adoption of the documents pertaining to our system on which the fulfillment of the targets of the long-term program of economic stabilization depends must be accelerated. No less important are the continued and regular supplies to our armaments industry of strategic material used in the manufacture of military equipment. Finally, Pekic stressed, it is important to replenish federal military reserves and return the commodities borrowed from the reserves.

Delegate Vojislav Mikic remarked that he does not see in the proposed text of the resolution any indication as to how we will overcome the inflation that has an adverse financial effect on the JNA. Delegate Savin Jogan drew attention to the fact that the policy of strengthening the dinar must be tackled with greater circumspection and more realistically. It is hard to expect that as early as the beginning of next year, as stated in the draft resolution, a special program of the policy of strengthening the dinar will be adopted. Much more time is required to attain convertibility, believes this delegate from Slovenia.

The delegates were today briefed on the latest military-political situation in the world. The report on this was submitted by Lieutenant Colonel General Georgije Jovacic. In a notable report, Gen Jovacic pointed out the focal points of crisis, essential questions of relations between the great powers, and ways and means of reducing the arms race.

SERBIA, PROVINCES DISAGREE ON DEFENSE BILL

AU231907 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 20 October on page 2 carries a 900-word article by M. Torov entitled "Disagreements 'in Accord' or 'in Cooperation'" dealing with disagreements between the SR of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on the draft amendments and supplements to the Law on All-People's Defense and the Law on Internal Affairs which are now in Assembly procedure.

Torov says that "the preparation of the first law has lasted 9 years, and Serbia is the only republic in the country that has not yet coordinated this document with the Constitution and the appropriate federal laws." The reason for the dispute between the Republic of Serbia and the two provinces involves two important problems: "The application of the constitutional power of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia to adopt the republic's defense plan and its authority to take certain measures as well as the authority of the Executive Council of the Republican Assembly to propose these measures to the Presidency of the SR of Serbia."

The essence of this dispute, Torov says, could briefly be formulated as follows: "Should the republic and the provinces resolve the disputed problems 'in accord' or 'in cooperation.'" Torov further says that the Commission for All-People's Defense of the Serbian Assembly has expressed support for the view of the Serbian Executive Council that "the stands of the provincial executive councils that without an accord there can be no defense plan of the SR of Serbia" cannot be accepted. The commission also believes that such a "solution would change the explicit constitutional power of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia to adopt a defense plan for the whole republic and the constitutional provision on the republic's defense plan as a unified document."

Torov says that at the session of the commission it was said that "opposing opinions, nonetheless, are not a reason why this draft document should be sent back for coordination because this would mean a halt in the precedure and a postponement of this task ad infinitum." It was agreed that the text of this document should be presented for public discussion and that "the pertinent republican organs should, in the meantime, try to reach an agreement on these problems." Torov reports that "the second important document -- the Draft Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Internal Affairs -- has passed through a similar procedure but with the difference that the coordination of views on similar disputed problems, on the power of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, lasted a shorter time -- only 6 years."

Torov says that "also in this case the pertinent assembly commission supported the Serbian Executive Council that could not accept the objection of the provincial executive council which, in fact, does not deny the right of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia to coordinate the stands with the provincial executive councils in this field (the right the Presidency has on the basis of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia), but which denies that this right be laid down by law."

Torov concludes that "the positions of the Serbian Executive Council, which have already been supported by delegates of the Serbian Assembly in the discussions in the pertinent commissions, are based on the provisions of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. However, the provincial executive councils continue to maintain that these decisions have not been coordinated."

REPORT ON 1984 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN

LD211553 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1109 GMT 21 Oct 83

[By Dragan Blagojevic]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 21 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government, in spite of big difficulties, is planning to secure revitalized economic activities and a two percent greater social product by applying its 1984 development and economic policies.

The ambitious plan of socio-economic development provides for 3 percent and 2 percent increases in industry and agriculture, respectively. The 1984 (?plan is) the first lap in the long-term economic stabilization programme. The Yugoslav Government underscores that this opens a major change towards structural changes in the Yugoslav economy and towards its becoming stable and efficacious according to world standards.

Alongside drawing the economy out of its present stagnation and inflation, employment in the field of production is planned to rise by two percent and productivity by one percentage point, while an end would have to be put to what is now a three-year-old decline, in real terms, of personal earnings. This is the minimum, government experts explain, not only for the material incentives of the employed but also for securing stable social conditions in the country. Yugoslav economic hardships are particularly augmented by the necessity to earmark for foreign creditors 5,300 million dollars as repayment of the principle and interest on the total foreign debt of some 19,000 million dollars.

Substantial changes in the Yugoslav economy next year are aimed also at 17 percent higher exports and 6 percent greater imports. Imports, tangibly cut off this year, in 1984 will predominatly comprise raw and other production materials designed for export programmes. Thus the Yugoslav economy is to be much more closely included in the international division of labour as a result of major changes and higher-quality operations in all the branches of the economy. What is significant in this reference is that as of 1984 the Yugoslav Government plans to exchange goods and services with other countries to bring Yugoslavia a surplus in its balance of payments.

On a broader social level the 1984 plan envisages the strengthening of the Yugoslav self-management system and, in keeping with this, the removal of administrative-political interference in the economy. The 1984 plan insists on a far greater respect for market laws, which is expected to crush the existence of partial autarky and factionalism in the national economy.

As market criteria will be strictly applied to expenditures also, investments will be reduced by 10 percent, the federal budget considerably limited and the reorganization and reduction of personnel employed in administration implemented. This is also one of the vital elements for curbing the current high inflation rate and for making a reliable assessment of which production is socially disadvantageous [words indistinct] will be forced to go into liquidation.

As it was plainly set out by Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc, "increased production in industry, agriculture and other fields and a reduction in [words indistinct] will bring us to a time when once again we will be able to purchase our daily needs, confident that the following day we will also be able to purchase them." During 1983 [words indistinct] over carried out a restrictive economic policy. It was compelled to do this primarily by the shortage of foreign currency and the necessity to pay off its foreign debts which led to the rationing of petrol and some basic products. Coupons for the purchase of some products have just been withdrawn and only sugar and petrol are still rationed.

The policy of vigorous economic growth in 1984 envisages for abandoning all the temporary restrictive measures, which are at present necessary. Efforts will be directed towards increasing production and stimulating the working people to earn as much as possiblities offered by putting in good-quality work.

Self-reliance is among the key prerequisites of the socio-economic turn-about in future development. This means a full utilization of the yet unexploited large national natural resources, the employment of a large number of the young highly trained personnel and a much greater utilization of domestic science and technology.

The Yugoslav premier has recently pointed to another anormous resource -- the industrial facilities, whose present utilization level of only 65 percent is impermissibly low.

A large part of the foreign debt which currently weighs on Yugoslavia has originated from the billions of dollars invested over the past few years in importing the most up-to-date technology which is being insufficiently utilized in the industry.

The government, therefore, maintains that Yugoslavia has great scope not only for overcoming the present crisis, but for a future stable development as a medium-developed industrial country.

The 1984 development plan has strongly resounded with comments and not infrequently with criticisms in the Yugoslav public, socio-political organizations among economy experts and in the press.

There are many who praise the nature of the development "offensive" and the departure from the restrictive economic policy. At the same time, however, there are criticisms that many particulars have not been sufficiently worked out (especially as regards legislation and systemic changes) and that, for this reason, the government's optimism is not fully justified.

Some prominent Yugoslav politicians and government members speak about a lack of understanding for and even purposeful resistance to both the 1984 development plan and the long-term economic stabilization programme.

As expected, the above will in the next few days be discussed and all doubts cleared in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee which last June fully upheld the long-term economic stabilization programme.

Matters have been completely clarified on the ideological-political level and time has come for a stage which is often more painful than the preparing of the plan -- its implementation.

TWO EARTHQUAKES REGISTERED IN SKOPJE 24 OCT

LD241311 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Summary] Skopje, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- Two earthquakes were registered in Skopje today, the first at 1021 [0921 GMT] with an intensity of three degrees Mercalli, the second at 1025 [0925 GMT] with an intensity of 5 degrees on the Mercalli scale. The epicenter was 10 kilometers southeast of Skopje. No material damage was caused.